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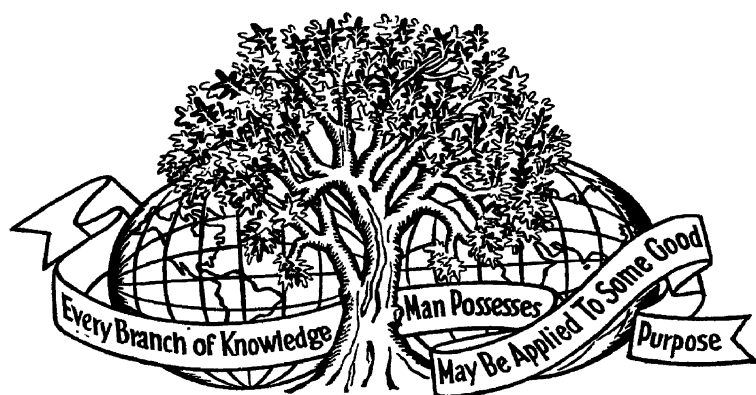




U N I V E R S I T Y   O F   K N O W L E D G E

GLENN FRANK, B.A., M.A., LITT.D., L.H.D., LL.D., *Editor-in-Chief*

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"OUT OF THE CRADLE ENDLESSLY ROCKING"

—Walt Whitman.

THE UNIVERSITY OF KNOWLEDGE  
WONDER BOOKS

GLENN FRANK, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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THE OUTLINE OF  
MODERN HISTORY

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## INTRODUCTION

Europe paused in its mad career of warfare to make peace at the Congress of Vienna. The nations were tired of struggling for more than two decades in the swirling flood of change that washed away the Old Regime and left new debris in its wake. Statesmen tried in vain to rebuild a political system around the chimera of "legitimacy." Metternich impressed his personality so indelibly upon European politics that his name became a synonym for reaction. But the rising tide of nationalism was not to be pushed back by this modern Canute.

Powerful forces surged through the European world of the nineteenth century. Liberal attitudes triumphed briefly and then gave way to reaction. Romanticism found expression in the enduring creations of Keats and Hugo, Delacroix and Turner, Chopin and Liszt, Verdi and Wagner. Then, as sensitive souls began to examine a world revolutionized by new industrial processes, Realism came into vogue. Hardy, James, and Shaw; Ibsen, Chekhov, and Gorky—these are a few of the great writers who won fame through merciless exposition of reality as they saw it. Romanticism survived in the hauntingly beautiful music of Brahms, Grieg, and Strauss, giving reason to hope that a Great Soul moved with serene majesty in the midst of idols overthrown by Realism. Already confused by the swiftness of cultural changes, bewildered artists in many realms turned to new modes of expression after the World War. They groped about in search for some medium to interpret the chaos that was around them. That search goes on, and from it may develop an art truly expressive of our industrial age.

European civilization continued to spread over the world in the nineteenth century. International conflicts resulted, and empires rose and fell. A second Napoleon enjoyed a brief moment of power. Germany and Italy became national states. The United States fought and conquered its way to the Pacific, and emerged from the holocaust of civil war as a powerful industrial nation. Africa was opened and many nations competed for its imperial domain. The Ottoman grasp on the Balkans was loosened and then broken. International rivalries produced a complex system of alliances which finally engulfed the world in the debacle of 1914.



The nations are still struggling to recover their sanity. Social and political institutions are being modified in frantic efforts to solve almost overwhelming problems.

Dr. Elizabeth Warren and Mr. Esterquest have treated these many subjects topically in an attempt to trace the progress of movements that are shaping our world of the twentieth century. They have no favorite theories to expound, no final interpretations to offer. Their task has been to summarize the results of patient historical research in order to gain a clear perspective of the past century and a quarter. The future—but that is not the concern of history.

The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to Hector M. Hill, Sidney Katz, Judson C. Gray, and Harold L. Hitchens for significant contributions to this volume.

Chicago  
November 15, 1937

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The illustrative material in this volume comes from a greater number of sources than it is possible to list properly. A number of persons supplied rare prints from their private collections. The Chicago Historical Society, The Art Institute of Chicago, the Chicago Public Library, and The Methodist Book Concern generously put their facilities at our disposal, and many of the photographs herein reproduced were found in their files. Commercial agencies representing European and Asiatic nations also permitted the use of their extensive collections of photographs of historic subjects.

J. BRADFORD PENGELLY

*Picture Editor*

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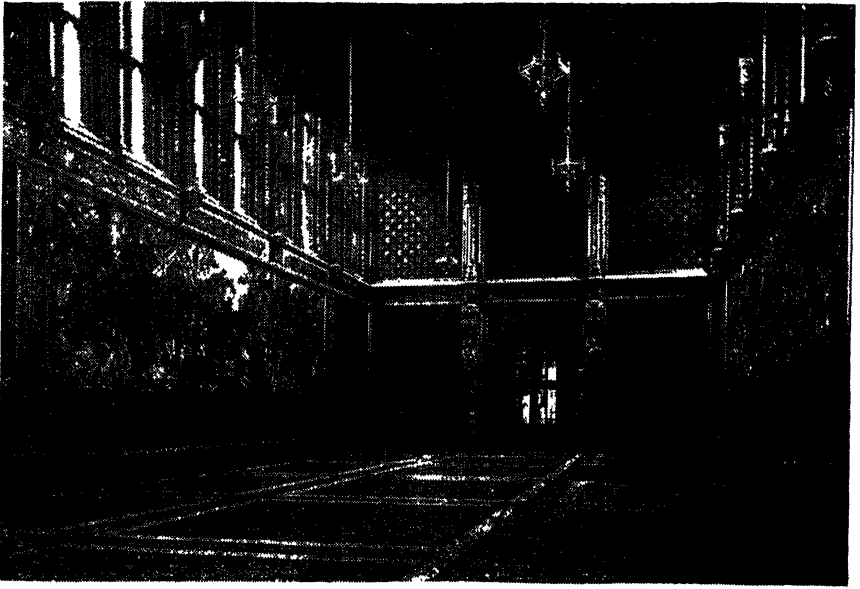
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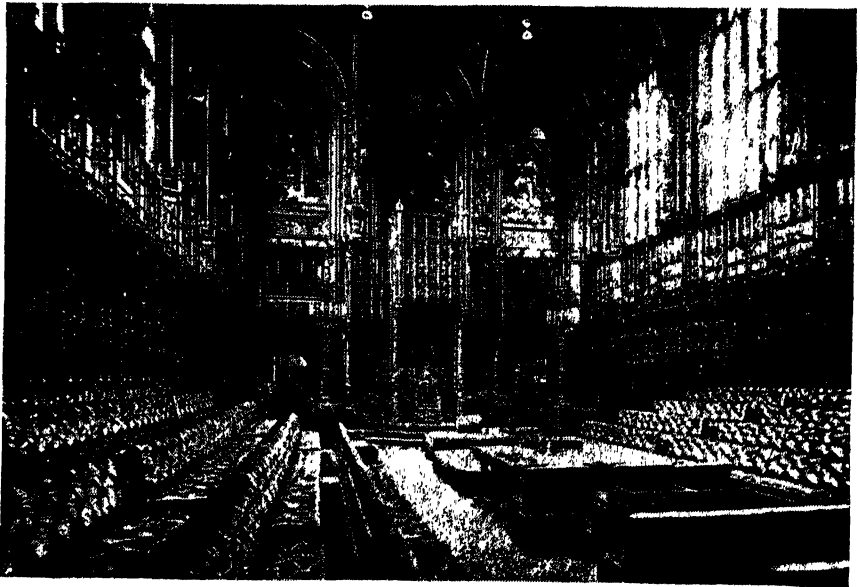
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THE PARLIAMENTARY ART GALLERY



Photos courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

## *PART I*

### *TRIUMPH OF NATIONALISM*

#### *CONSERVATIVE REACTION IN EUROPE*

THE EVENTS THAT TRANSPIRED in the early days of the French Revolution stimulated liberal leaders in every land to believe that the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity need not be confined to drawing-room discussions. This fact was particularly true in England where philosophers and scientists had sought for more than a century to solve social problems.

#### *BRITISH ENTHUSIASM FOR REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES*

Great developments were taking place in England during the years immediately preceding the crisis in France. The series of inventions that heralded the Industrial Revolution were being put into use, while small landholdings were being consolidated into large, scientifically operated farms. These industrial and agrarian problems concentrated much attention on domestic economic issues. The close relation of the government and the people made possible the amicable settlement of many major problems; the political parties, highly developed in England, closed the gap between rulers and ruled. England, when compared to Europe, was advanced in putting liberal ideas into practice.

The formation of certain organizations in most of the large cities indicated that there was sympathy for the French ideals. One of these groups was the London Corresponding Society, whose members met together to eat and drink at a local tavern, and to read revolutionary pamphlets and draw up revolutionary

programs. The most frequent proposal of these clubs was that England adopt a real, written constitution like those of France and the United States.

English Whigs—the party of the merchants and middle class—were generally in sympathy with the upheaval in France. The Tories—the party of the landed class—looked upon it as the rising of the rabble against authority. However, as the radicalism of the Parisian mob mounted, even the Whigs became alarmed at its disrespect of property and changed their sympathies. Soon “law and order” societies were formed among the conservatives to combat the activities of the liberals. Generally, however, there was in England little revolutionary activity beyond loose talk. Restrictive laws were soon passed.

When England went to war with revolutionary France it became the patriotic duty of every Englishman to hate France. Led by Prime Minister William Pitt, they fell to it with a will, and few men were able to resist the patriotic call. The few who retained their revolutionary principles soon found themselves faced with governmental action. Nonetheless, they were mercifully treated because of the extreme minority they represented.

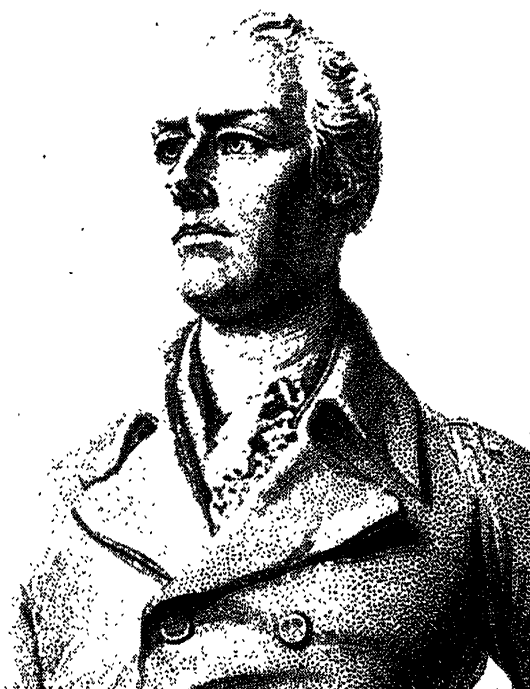
This intensified patriotism, called nationalism, increased throughout the war. When the Irish, stimulated by the French movement, rebelled in 1798 under the leadership of Wolfe Tone, English opinion was so united that the revolt was easily suppressed. Two years later the English completely subordinated Ireland in the Act of Union, by which Ireland lost its autonomy.

Conservatives representing traditional England, grew in power as public sympathy with France waned. Whig leaders lost their following and the Tories, led by Lord Castlereagh, gradually assumed the responsibility of leading England against France and Napoleon, who, after 1800, became Britain’s “must-be-destroyed” enemy. As the war became more critical, British feeling crystallized despite domestic economic disagreements. Losses on the continent were, in a measure, offset by gains elsewhere. Britain remained mistress of the sea, and she incorporated into her domain foreign islands once held by France.

### WILLIAM PITT

Son of a prime minister of the British Cabinet, William Pitt was one of the most remarkable statesmen in English history. When only twenty-three years old he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, the office which controls the purse-strings of the British Empire. One year later he became England's Prime Minister. He sponsored liberal legislation in the early years of his ministry, but the growing radicalism of liberal groups soon turned him into a conservative. Under his leadership, the English people were weaned from their sympathy for the French revolutionists and eventually led into war with France.

Courtesy J. Bradford Pengelly



### THE GERMAN STATES

Before the French Revolution the Germanic states—over three hundred of them—were loosely bound together in the decrepit Holy Roman Empire. Liberal theory was not unknown, but the practice of liberal principles was generally lacking until the French army entered these lands.

When the Frenchmen first arrived, freeing the land-bound serfs and abolishing the innumerable feudal taxes, the people received them with open arms. French domination was not irksome until the iron hand of Napoleon was felt. Then they were forced to submit to the despotism he instituted: they served in his Grand Army and furnished the grain with which he fed his great military machine.

Prussia and Austria were the greatest of the Germanic states. Pre-revolutionary reforms had been initiated by their enlightened



despots and liberal leaders. These reforms lapsed when popular clamor subsided or successors mounted the thrones. When the impact of revolutionary France was felt, liberalism took a new turn. Secret clubs, much like those of England, were formed among the professional classes. Most of their members were thrown in prison when their faint-hearted fellows divulged their purposes. One poor fellow suffered execution because he dared to translate the revolutionary hymn, the *Marseillaise*.

It was not until Napoleon pressed at the gates of Prussia and Austria that the full power of the French Revolution was felt. The new principles of warfare as well as the new ideals were overwhelming. For a time these nations resisted but in the end, shorn of their extensive possessions, they learned the lessons of defeat and met Napoleon with his own methods. Prussia and Austria adopted the principles of nationalism and strengthened their relative positions in Europe. To accomplish this end they had to circumvent the will of Napoleon. For instance, he had limited the size of the Prussian and Austrian armies, but by a process of rapid turnover in training, these states raised armies many times more numerous than the number of men under arms at one time would indicate.

Liberal leadership gained most ground in Prussia. In that state the poet Herder carried the message of nationalism to the Prussian people. Liberally inclined Baron vom Stein introduced financial reforms. Wilhelm von Humboldt pressed his cause for popular education. Prussia increased her strength under the tutelage of such leaders.

The most obvious change effected by the French Revolution and by Napoleon was the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. First attacked by the invading army of republican France, the fading decrepit Empire was finally erased, even to its name, by Napoleon. Since the Empire was no longer of great political significance, there was little concern over its demise. The Emperor, who was also emperor of Austria, contented himself with his Austrian possessions. No effort was made to revive the Empire when Napoleon fell and Europe was remolded in 1815.

For almost a century the borders of the empire were steadily pushed back by the growing European states, particularly Russia. There were also signs of disintegration within the structure of the empire.

Of all the Christian subjects of the Mohammedan sultan, the Greeks were allowed a certain amount of freedom in their church affairs and commerce. The other Christian portions of the Ottoman empire were less favored.

The memory of past independence and glory stirred in the hearts of the Greek upper classes. Under the leadership of such men as Korais and Rhigas, who had studied and traveled in western Europe and were inspired by the French Revolution, Greek nationalism was stimulated by revolutionary ballads and propaganda. Societies were formed with the same purposes as those in other countries. They were repressed, indeed, but the movement gained strength.

North of Greece in the Balkans similar national feeling was aroused among the people whom we know as the Jugo-Slavs. The Serbs were influenced less by the French example than by local conditions. Russia, which wished to weaken the Ottoman empire, had for many years encouraged them to oppose the Turks, and even subsidized one section known as Montenegro. Then in 1804 a Turkish massacre of Serbs in Belgrade roused their countrymen to fury. Under Karageorge, a brilliant leader, though a peasant, they set up their own legislature and planned their own government. Aiding Russia in its war against the Turks, they were for the most part freed of Turkish control. Unfortunately for them, the Russian troops were withdrawn for use against Napoleon, and the Sultan re-established his authority. The Serbs were in subjection, but their national feeling was not destroyed and gave promise of surging up again in the future.

Nearby were the Slovenes and Croats who lived along the east shore of the Adriatic. They had been organized into an "Illyrian" state by Napoleon, who introduced his usual progressive measures in law and public works, and in order to secure their co-operation encouraged them to use their language and recall their past glory.

*PROGRESS IN THE RUSSIAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE*

In northeastern Europe, also, the revolutionary national spirit was felt. The example of France had inspired the futile Polish attempt at reform under the valiant Kosciuszko in the nineties just before the final partitions removed Poland from the map.

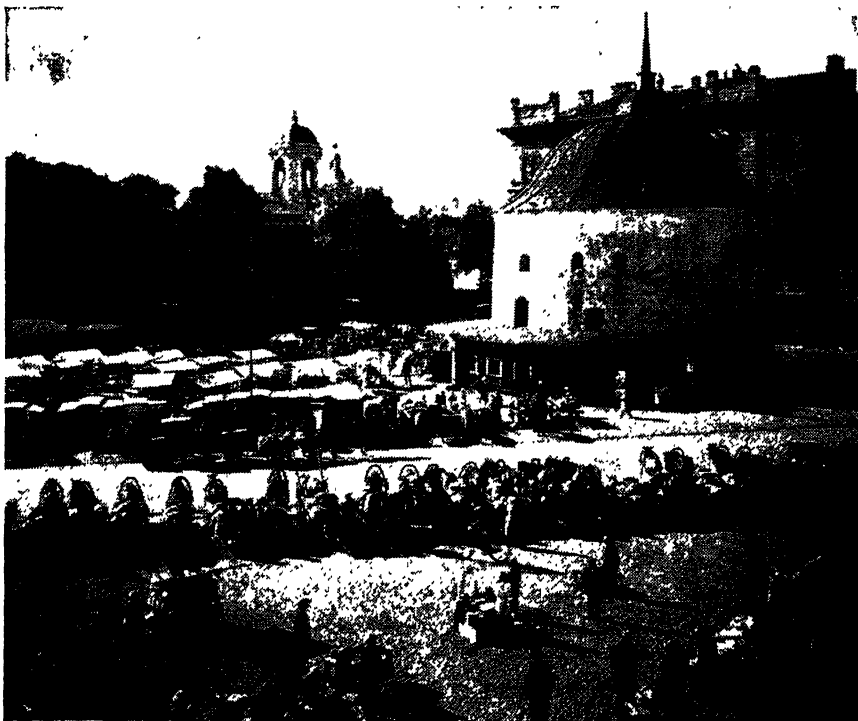
Polish national feeling continued, however, and Napoleon renewed their hopes when he set up part of the country as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. In return, the Poles under the able Prince Jozef Poniatowski, nephew of the last king, supported the French against Russia. Another great Polish patriot and disciple of enlightenment, Prince Adam Czartoriski, was friendly with Russia and obtained a promise of Polish autonomy when the war was over. Thus whether France or Russia won, the prospects for a new Poland were bright. Russia was finally victorious, and Tsar Alexander renewed his promises.

Alexander likewise improved the condition of his people in the Baltic provinces. By abolishing serfdom there he began a social reformation which promised future liberty for the Esths and the Letts, who had thus far been subject peoples.

Strangely enough, although Alexander was encouraging social reform and national feelings among his subject peoples, conditions in Russia proper remained much the same. Some of the upper class, who had absorbed the same ideas of enlightenment as their Tsar, favored reform. The mass of the people, however, had been so completely subjected by their autocratic rulers that they were impervious to the liberal thought and activities of the age.

*THE SCANDINAVIANS STIMULATED*

Northern Europe, too, was affected by the liberal and national movements. Finland, while it was a grand duchy under the enlightened Gustavus III of Sweden, had been granted a measure of autonomy. In 1809, it was conquered by Alexander of Russia and, like the Baltic provinces, benefited by his generosity to national groups. He united it with the Finnish territory that had belonged to Russia since the time of Peter the Great. Under the



Courtesy Suomen-Matkat, Helsinki, Finland

#### THE FAMOUS OLD ROUND TOWER IN FINLAND

title of grand duke of the Finns, he ruled over this state as a unit distinct from Russia. He was assisted by a national legislature in which the nobles, clergy, middle class, and peasants were represented. As might be expected, this greater freedom instead of satisfying the people only increased their national enthusiasm and promised future agitation for complete liberty.

In Sweden, the unfortunate war with Russia in 1808 discredited King Gustavus IV. The legislature assumed control, deposed the king, chose Charles XIII as his successor, and adopted a constitution. Later, they named General Bernadotte, of Napoleon's army, as successor to Charles, who had no children.

Norway, long under the sway of Denmark, also absorbed the French principles of liberty and nationalism. When as punishment for its support to Napoleon, Denmark was forced to cede Norway to Sweden, the Norwegians took advantage of the oc-



Courtesy Suomen-Matkat, Helsinki, Finland

#### A FINNISH COUNTRY VILLAGE

casion to declare their independence, and set up a constitutional government under a Danish prince. However, General Bernadotte intervened and persuaded them to accept him as king, agreeing to rule in accordance with their new constitution. Thus Bernadotte ruled as king of both countries, and although Norwegian nationalism was unsatisfied, greater power had been granted to the people of both countries.

Thus did the influence of the French Revolution and of Napoleon extend throughout Europe in varying degrees. What the future would bring seemed largely in the hands of the Congress of Vienna, which had been summoned to meet in September, 1814, to arrange the formal peace terms.

#### *THE MEN WHO REDREW THE MAP*

The Congress of Vienna was one of the most brilliant assemblages in history. Its members included, first of all, six sovereigns: Tsar Alexander I, whose liberal ideas have already been men-

tioned; Frederick William III, rather weak, but an admirer of the Tsar; Francis I of Austria, and the kings of Denmark, Bavaria, and Württemberg. There were also three of the outstanding non-royal diplomats of the day: the shrewd representative of Great Britain, Lord Castlereagh; the wily and unprincipled Talleyrand, anxious to protect the interests of France; and above all, Count Metternich, the experienced, conservative Austrian minister. In addition, all the minor states of Europe were represented.

Not only were the delegates outstanding, but the pomp and gaiety were memorable. The entertainments were in keeping with the wealth and rank of the guests. The assembly has often been called "The Dancing Congress," so numerous were the balls which were held. Here for one of the first times in high society, the waltz was danced, to the horror of some conservative people, who considered it ungraceful and indecent.

These festivities, however, served merely as a camouflage for the negotiations which were being quietly carried on. For instead of general sessions of all the delegates, which the name "congress" would suggest, most of the discussions were held secretly by small groups.

Metternich had hoped to confine the major decisions to the victorious countries—Austria, England, Russia, and Prussia. Talleyrand, however, was determined that France, although conquered in battle, should have some voice in the negotiations. It was not necessary for him openly to oppose them because before long, the "Big Four" were themselves divided on a major issue, and he was able to insinuate himself into their councils.

This issue was the fate of Poland. It will be remembered that Alexander had promised the Poles that he would reinstate them as a united nation under his sovereignty. Accordingly he made this request at the Congress, suggesting that in compensation for her Polish losses Prussia be given Saxony, whose king was to be punished for supporting Napoleon. Frederick William III favored this idea.

Metternich, however, feared that by these means Russia would become too powerful in Europe; and, supported by England, he refused to assent. Only by the skillful compromise of Castlereagh

and Talleyrand was the problem solved. The Tsar received most of Poland, which he promised to govern by a constitution; the rest remained under the control of Prussia and Austria. Prussia received only part of Saxony. In this way Poland was redivided and the king of Saxony was punished.

With various groups of countries thus conferring, the negotiations continued throughout the entire winter of 1814-15. The resulting provisions, together with some temporary agreements which had been made before the Congress assembled, were embodied in the peace settlement of June, 1815.

### *LEGITIMACY AND COMPENSATIONS*

One of the ruling principles of the settlement was "legitimacy," that is the restoration of territory to the rightful monarchs who reigned before the war. By this principle, the Bourbons recovered the control of Spain and the Two Sicilies; the house of Savoy was reinstated in Sardinia and Piedmont; the Orange family in Holland; the pope in his temporal possessions; and the German princes in their states. The principle of legitimacy was also invoked to restore the Swiss confederation with its neutrality guaranteed, and to enable Austria to recover the Tyrol and the Illyrian provinces. This was also the reason for the repartition of Poland, which has already been mentioned.

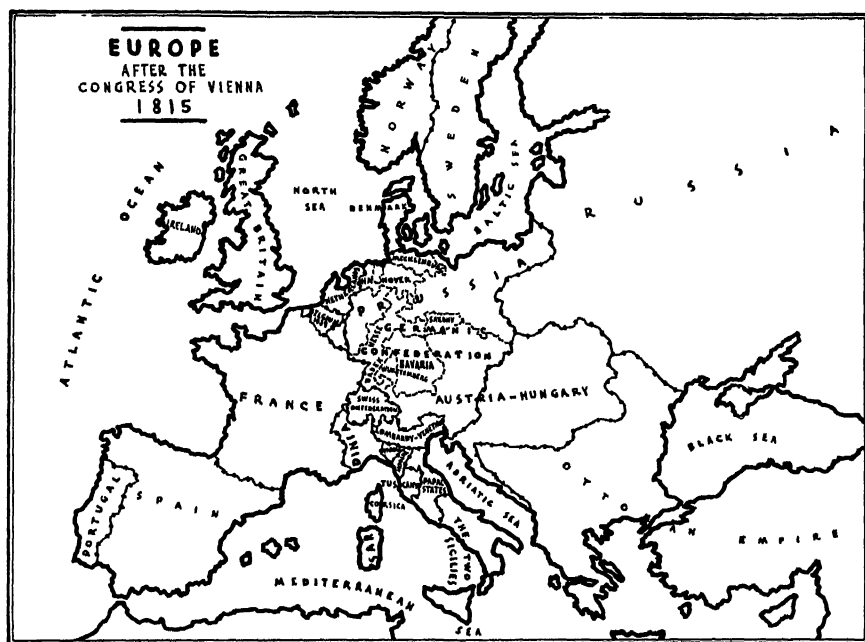
For the same reason of legitimacy, the French monarchy was restored and the boundaries of 1790 guaranteed. France was required, however, to return the art treasures which Napoleon had looted from other countries, and to pay an indemnity of seven hundred million francs. Furthermore, the principal French fortresses were to be occupied by foreign troops for five years.

Another principle, however, also determined the territorial distribution. "Compensations" were necessary as rewards to victors or in return for the cession of other lands. Thus Great Britain was allowed to retain the colonies which she had captured from Spain, Holland, and France. Then to compensate for its loss of colonies, Holland was given the Austrian Netherlands, despite their differences in religion and sympathy; and the Orange ruler of the two countries assumed the title of king. To offset this loss,

Austria was given Venice and Milan, while members of the Hapsburg family ruled Tuscany, Modena, and Parma; thus Austria became an important force in Italy. The awards of Norway to Sweden and of part of Saxony to Prussia, already mentioned, were also made upon this principle.

### *SUCCESSOR TO THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE*

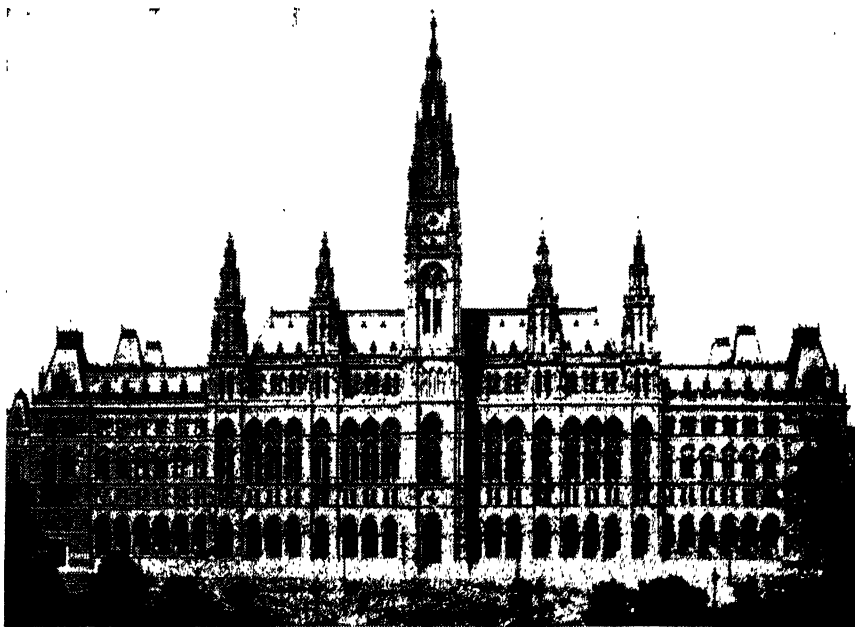
Another important work of the Congress was the formation of the North German Confederation. There had been some talk of establishing a single German state; but the weak King of Prussia, the logical person to rule such a state, was hardly suitable. Furthermore, the southern German states had been promised their freedom. Therefore a federation of thirty-eight states was formed, with an assembly of princes presided over by Austria.



#### THE TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1815

Although the dominant motive of the Congress was to re-establish the Europe that existed before the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire, the new territorial settlements incorporated many of the features of the Napoleonic Empire.



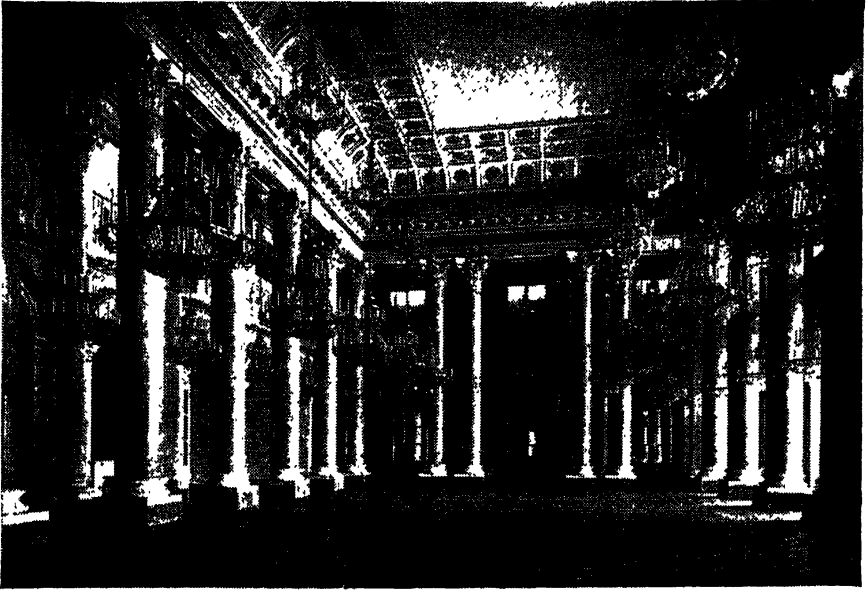


Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

THE RATHAUS, OR TOWN HALL, IN VIENNA

Thus the Congress of Vienna arranged the map of Europe. So far as possible, the conditions before the French Revolution had been restored. The provisions frequently disregarded nationalistic ambitions, and the entire arrangement ignored the liberal tendencies which had been developing in the preceding years. Virtually the only liberal measure of the Congress was the recommendation that slavery be abolished.

Yet despite its reactionary aspects, the Congress of Vienna marked the end of an era. Whether its provisions would succeed or fail, whether conservatism would maintain the leadership which it now held, or whether republicanism, subjected but not annihilated, would once more rise to power—these questions could be settled only in the future years. One thing was clear, however: weak though the republican spirit was after the Congress of Vienna, it had left its mark upon all countries. Europe could never return to the absolutism of the days before the French Revolution, and whatever events might follow, they would constitute a new phase in world history.



Paul's Photos

#### CEREMONIAL ROOM IN THE ROYAL PALACE AT VIENNA

It was in this famous old building that the Congress of Vienna took place, which attempted to remake Europe under the domination of Metternich.

that should appear. This conservative success was more superficial than real, however. Metternich recognized liberalism as an enemy, but he did not realize how difficult it is to overcome the force of ideas. People seem unable to live without emotional dreams, a factor which Metternich failed to take into consideration.

#### *ATTEMPT TO STIFLE NATIONALISM*

More fatal than the suppression of liberalism, was Metternich's error in handling the second emotional dream of revolutionary Europe. Just as the French and American revolutions spread ideas of honest government, designed by the people and for the people's good—or at least by and for the middle, merchant class—so Napoleon's campaigns taught the lesson of nationalism to the subject states of Europe. By opposing the rule of the great dynasties over people who had no ties of race or language, by

temporarily setting up peoples with their own national states, even by oppressing them, Napoleon aroused in all Europe patriot leaders burning to free themselves from foreign rule. Even his enemies, Britain and Prussia, were roused to nationalist fervor by their defeats and victories.

The Congress of Vienna, composed as it was of rulers, ignored this new force altogether. Most of Poland was given back to the tsar, with parts of it going to Prussia and Austria. The Balkan states were dominated by the Turks with an altogether different religion and set of customs. Belgium was put under Dutch domination. Everywhere the new spirit of nationalism was sacrificed to legitimacy, the right of ruling families to hold their hereditary domains. Metternich's insistence upon this point was his greatest error.

### *THE MONROE DOCTRINE*

The most glaring violation of Metternich's system was in the Americas. During the Napoleonic wars and after, there was continued foreign meddling with the governments of Spain and Portugal. Colonial authorities in the New World received orders from several contenders for the thrones and assistance from none. One by one the colonies asserted their independence. The protocol of Troppau bound Austria, Prussia, and Russia to restore the Bourbon lands to the "legitimate rulers." But none of these powers had a navy strong enough to attack the rebellious colonies. Moreover, England was hostile to any such intervention in South America. Although conservative in domestic politics, England had good reasons to pursue a different policy in foreign affairs. English trade with the Spanish colonies had increased rapidly during the period of revolution.

England had no desire to restore Spanish rule; rather, she asked French support in opposing Metternich's general policy of intervention in rebellious countries. Failing to secure French co-operation, England sought support from the United States, a nation already suspicious of the Quadruple Alliance. Various negotiations were carried on between England and the United States, but President Monroe finally decided to make a declaration of policy which



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

**JAMES MONROE**

Who announced in the famous Monroe Doctrine, drafted by his Secretary of State, John Q. Adams, that the United States would regard with disfavor European interference in the Americas.

**GEORGE CANNING**

English Foreign Minister who concurred with President Monroe in the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. Canning looked upon the doctrine as a matter of benefit to England.

was not dependent upon British support. A message to Congress in December, 1823, announced to the whole world that the United States would oppose any attempt to subjugate Spain's former colonies. Metternich did not become greatly alarmed at this declaration by such a weak power as the United States, but in the next year he renounced all hope of restoring the colonies to Spain.

**INTERVENTION IN EUROPE**

Even where Metternich intervened in Europe, national aspirations were merely driven underground and not eliminated. Secret societies spread the gospel of nationalism in Germany. The famous Carbonari spread revolutionary propaganda in Italy, where numerous rebellions called for the intervention of Austria to keep the legitimate sovereign on the throne. A notable outbreak against the hated Ferdinand I occurred in Naples. It was a year before the Austrian army obtained repeal of the constitution which the people had forced Ferdinand to grant them.

Victor Emmanuel was forced to abdicate his throne in Piedmont soon after. His successor, Charles Albert, granted a constitution, but Metternich sent in troops and threatened to punish him. Only by complete submission to the conservative philosophy was he saved.

Metternich's policy found difficulties in political-minded France. The liberals and the bourgeoisie wanted more democracy while the ultra-royalists—the returned émigrés and the clergy—wanted less. Louis XVIII was in a quandary. Maintaining the appearance of a divine-right monarch, he did not destroy Napoleon's national bank and educational system, religious freedom, equality before the law, or representative government. Nor did he attempt to restore serfdom and feudalism or punish sternly Napoleonic sympathizers.

Following a reactionary reign of terror, which made the liberals afraid to vote, the royalists got control of the government. When Louis saw the impossible nature of their demands and called a new election, the moderates won. Thus, as early as 1816 it was clear that France, like England, would not co-operate with Metternich's reactionary policies. France, however, did co-operate in regard to peace, and the Quadruple Alliance was enlarged to a Quintuple Alliance to admit her.

In 1820 the reactionaries again came into power. They followed repressive policies both at home and abroad, sending armies to crush liberalism in Spain. Louis's successor, Charles X, was himself reactionary. Metternich was reasonably certain of French support for his system until 1827. In that year a new election showed that the French people would no longer stand for reaction.

### *NATIONALISM IN THE BALKANS*

It was to be expected, perhaps, that the French and British governments would not follow Metternich's lead altogether. But the rising nationalism in the Balkan states, directed against the Turkish rule, was used by the ultra-conservative new tsar of Russia, Nicholas I, for the profit of his country even though he disobeyed the Austrian's "legitimist" wish.

Following the failure of the earlier Serbian leader, Karageorge, Milosh Obrenovich led a successful revolt in 1815. Greece, too,

was in revolt for some time. The ferocity of the Turkish suppression aroused the sympathy of all the world save Metternich. At London, in 1827, France, Britain, and Russia agreed to intervene if necessary in behalf of Greece. They finally went to war and defeated Turkey decisively. The Treaty of Adrianople, besides giving Russia concessions, recognized Serbia, Greece, and the two Rumanian provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia, as practically independent. Thus three great powers openly went to war to defeat the principles of legitimacy.

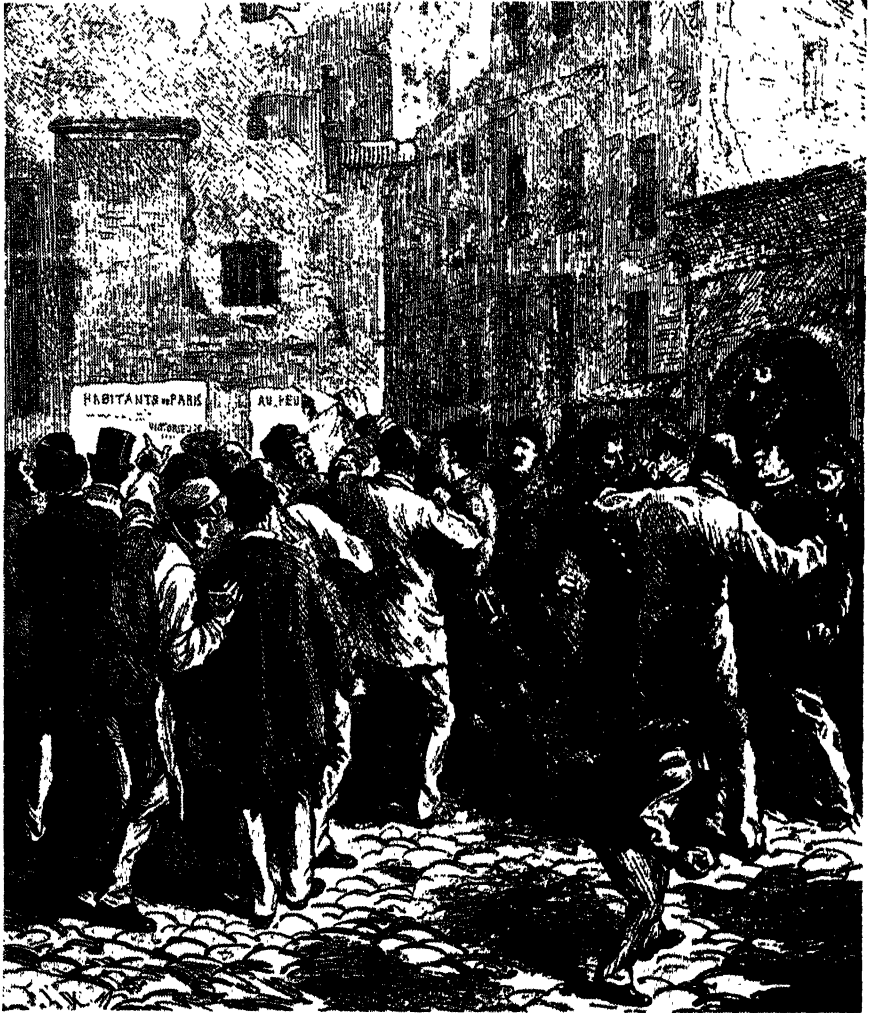
The forces of nationalism began to weaken Metternich's control over Europe several years before the revolutionary outbreaks of 1830. The spirit of liberalism, so odious to the reactionaries, could not be suppressed in a Europe which had thrilled to the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The Congress of Vienna made a valiant effort to organize central and eastern Europe on a permanent basis; but nationalism and liberalism rendered its effort futile.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

#### A CITY IN OLD BULGARIA

This view of Plovdiv gives an idea of the hilly terrain of the Balkan states, whose rising nationalism against Turkish rule was advantageously used by Nicholas I



### RIOT IN PARIS IN 1848

Rioters filled the streets. In two days Louis Philippe prudently quit the country. The foundations of the Second Republic were laid.

# LIBERALISM—THE CREED OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Motivated by a liberal philosophy that had been developing for almost a century, the revolution deeply implanted the spirit of liberalism in Europe that did not die even when the revolution itself was discredited.



## LIBERALISM

THE SPECTER FROM WHICH Metternich was attempting to protect Europe was liberalism. Though its growth was impeded, he was unable to stifle this expanding, progressive movement, the roots of which are to be found in the various cultural, political, and economic changes of the previous centuries.

Liberalism had several foundations. In part, it was a child of the intellectual transformation which Europe had experienced in the eighteenth century. Colored by the skepticism of Voltaire and Gibbon, it inherited the scientific approach which that century had been seeking. "Natural rights" had been one of the slogans of the age. Liberalism took up this slogan, changing it but slightly.

The French Revolution, nourished in part by the Intellectual Revolution, proved a source of inspiration for liberalism. Although the rising of the French people had brought dismay to many, it remained a shining example to succeeding generations. It had left an indelible impression on Europe. Some viewed the possibility of the recurrence of 1789 with horror; the liberals wanted the principles of '89 without its excesses.

The Industrial Revolution provided another stone in the edifice of liberalism and a very important one. Many of the theories of liberalism and much of the support won by that movement were the results of the Industrial Revolution. New conditions and new classes were created with new desires to be satisfied.



Liberalism changed its features often in the course of its history, but running through it constantly have been the two threads of social progress and rationalism. Faith in social progress is only a comparatively recent idea. Its basis was a belief that man could change his environment for the better and achieve the "good life" through his own efforts. One of the means of achieving social progress was, in the minds of the liberals, the use of reason.

## ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY

The economic philosophy of liberalism was born, appropriately enough, in England. In some measure it owes a debt to the Physiocrats of France, who so vigorously attacked mercantilism. This new philosophy was to prove a boon to developing industrialism.

The economists who championed these new doctrines have been called the Classical school. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, with its doctrine of economic liberty, has been the Bible of this movement. Jeremy Bentham, David Ricardo, James Mill, and others took up the new doctrines, developing them and giving them life. Nassau Senior, an Oxford professor, summarized and co-ordinated the work of his predecessors of the Classical school.

The basic tenet of the economic liberals was laissez faire, essentially economic liberty. It was felt that if each individual were to pursue his own interests intelligently, prosperity for all would result. The natural wealth and possibilities of a country could be best exploited by individuals acting without restraint.

The Classical school believed that men would prosper if only the economic laws of nature were not violated. Nature, they maintained, provided the law of supply and demand for the perfect regulation of economic life. The function of government was to allow the free operation of natural laws and to prevent any hindrance of free competition. In practice, the capitalistic class was aided by this aspect of laissez faire. Labor was not allowed to combine within labor unions, although employers could form organizations at will. Monopolies were likewise outlawed. Government was not to interfere in business, although business was left free to interfere in government. The industrialists need fear no regulation. They could save on wages, buy cheaply, and sell dearly.

On a larger scale, *laissez faire* meant free trade. In theory, the removal of bars to international trade would further both prosperity and peace. By creating free competition on an international basis, each nation would be forced to produce only those commodities which it could turn out most efficiently. Thus, both wasteful production and one of the causes of war would be eliminated.

Free trade was favored by England, the most industrialized country in the world, because it desired free markets for its goods. Also, lack of English tariffs would enable foreign nations to sell raw products and foods to her and thus be able to buy manufactured products. By 1849, with the repeal of the navigation acts and the corn laws, England had achieved free trade. Continental Europe did not seize the idea so avidly. Even here, however, free trade made a few advances in Germany and France.

In France, J. B. Say began to import the new beliefs in the 1820's. Frédéric Bastiat was another crusader for the new cause. John Prince-Smith spread the gospel through Germany. As the industrial classes grew on the continent, economic liberalism likewise grew.

### *POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY*

The political theories of liberalism were, in large part, shaped by the stirring examples of the French and American Revolutions. The eloquent words of the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of the Rights of Man echoed throughout Europe and provided a battle-cry and a creed for the liberals.

Government was to be bound by laws and to be responsible to the representatives of the people. To guarantee a government of laws, a constitution was necessary. The United States had been the first to draw up and abide by a written constitution, which was regarded by the liberals of the early nineteenth century as a magical guaranty of liberty and progress. They believed that the mere embodiment of rights in a written document would safeguard those rights from impairment. By expressly allowing opposition, the constitution would provide for peaceful change. The

## JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

French philosopher of pre-revolutionary France whose writings profoundly influenced the subsequent course of events. He believed that people were good by nature, and if left to their own devices, would be much better off than when ruled by any special class. Versatile, he wrote on the subjects of political science, the education of children, music and art. It has been said that Rousseau never personally acted on the principles he so ardently advanced in his books. The books of this unusual philosopher were widely read in the English colonies in North America, thus contributing to the desire for independence that culminated in the Revolutionary War. Rousseau has been regarded as "the great revolutionary" of history. His new doctrines gave impetus to changes in almost every thought and habit of men since his time.



liberal emphasized the doctrine of liberty. He would allow any citizen to do whatever he pleased so long as his actions did not harm other citizens.

Under the old political regime, the unit of society was the caste. Laws were made in terms of class. Liberalism thought in terms of individuals. All individuals were equal in the eyes of the law, and government was based on the idea of individuals, banded together for a common purpose.

The crowning feature of political liberalism was its championship of civil rights—natural rights in new dress. The liberal asserted that each individual had certain *inalienable* rights which society could not abrogate. These were life, liberty, property, and resistance to oppression. No life could be taken without fair trial. No man was to be imprisoned without a warrant and a trial. In addition, liberty implied religious tolerance, freedom of speech and assembly, and the freedom of the press. Liberalism also recognized the right to revolt when government ceased to guarantee natural rights.

Civil rights, as applied in the sphere of peoples, were the basis of nationalism. Every people, said the liberal, must be given the right to achieve statehood and independence. In this way liberalism was linked to nationalism.

### *SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS OF LIBERALISM*

Liberalism was a middle-class philosophy and as such found its support among that class. As citizens they would gain a greater voice in government and political liberties; a participation which had previously been denied them. As business men they saw in liberalism freedom from governmental interference and protection of property. Hence in the ranks of the liberals there were found industrialists, capitalists, merchants, members of the professions, shopkeepers—in short, the middle class.

Liberalism had more than an economic and political appeal. Its gospel of liberty exercised a somewhat romantic appeal. Students, professors, an occasional army officer, a few government officials, and intellectuals were attracted by the new philosophy. Liberalism exercised a profound influence on the European mind from 1830 to 1871.

Of the opponents of liberalism little need be said. Their number was legion. Those who stood to lose—nobles, kings, officials, generals—united in a fierce hymn of hate against those who threatened their dominance.

### *LIBERALISM FLARES AND SUBSIDES IN 1830*

The rising spirit of liberalism found expression in a series of revolts in 1830. In France, the rule of the Bourbon Charles X had elicited universal disapproval among the middle class. In an attempt to silence the criticisms which were growing in volume, Charles issued a series of reactionary ordinances which called forth a revolution in July, 1830. In the place of the deposed Charles X, the liberal Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, was seated. The bourgeoisie was now in control with a pliant noble as king.

The July Revolution seemed to be a call to arms to the liberals of all Europe. Southern (Belgian) Netherlands, which had chafed at domination by the Dutch, expelled the masters and set up an in-

dependent liberal kingdom in October, 1830. There were reverberations in central and southern Europe, but Metternich was still firmly entrenched. The faint rumblings in Italy and Germany soon died down. The Polish revolt of 1831 was drowned in blood by the ruthless Tsar Nicholas I, while Metternich looked on with approval. The liberal movements throughout southern and central Europe had not amassed sufficient strength to achieve success.

### *ECHOES IN ENGLAND*

England was not unaffected by the events on the Continent, but the changes that occurred in the 1830's were peaceful. The factory owners and tradesmen were practically unrepresented in Parliament. Their desire for parliamentary reform was seconded by minorities, such as the Catholics, who resented the restrictions imposed on them.

The July events in Paris stimulated the demands for reform. The political leaders began to respond to this ever increasing pressure, and finally capitulated, passing the Reform Act of 1832. The number who thereby held the franchise was but a small part of the population, but by the re-apportionment of seats in the House of Commons, the bourgeoisie gained a voice in the government of the country.

The masses had been disregarded. The working men found that the Reform Act had ignored them. The demand arose among them for a "People's Charter," to assure every man a vote. The resulting Chartist movement spread rapidly, so that by 1842 alarm was felt by government circles lest a revolt break out. Although the movement died down soon afterward, eventually all the demands of the Chartists became law.

### *REVOLTS OF 1848—THE END OF METTERNICH*

The bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe had left much undone. Democrats, republicans, and socialists were dissatisfied with the complexion of the new regime. They found its liberalism was not satisfactory, and its democracy was non-existent. On the

other hand, supporters of the Bourbons and Catholics found the rule of Louis Philippe equally unsatisfactory, but, of course, for opposite reasons.

In the years 1847-1848, the opposition gathered momentum. As a means of propagandizing the reform doctrines, banquets of a disquietingly radical character were held. One planned for February 22, 1848, was forbidden by the frightened government.

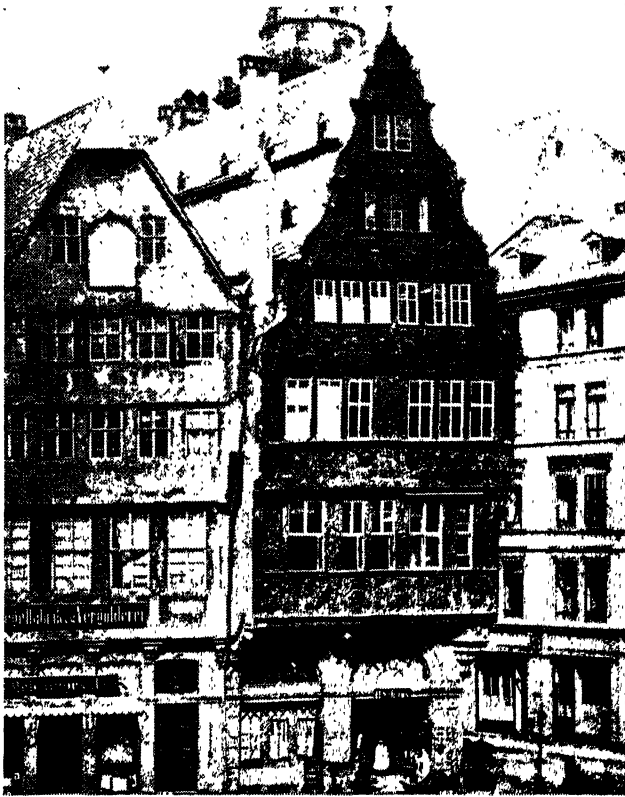
The Parisian populace was aroused. Rioters filled the streets. In two days Louis Philippe prudently quit the country. A republic was set up. After the suppression of an abortive revolt of workers, the foundations of the republic were laid. It was to be a democratic one, but its complexion was moderate rather than radical.

Southern and central Europe had failed to respond to the liberal revolutionary movement of 1830 and had remained under the sway of conservatism. But a new factor, industrialization, was changing the social makeup of large sections of Austria, Bohemia, Galicia, Italy, and Germany. Simultaneously, the liberal movement assumed larger proportions. Here, as well as in other parts of the Austrian domains, symptoms of a coming eruption were evident. Local revolts, growing revolutionary movements, and petitions showed that all was not well. At last, revolts broke out in Vienna which sent the arch-enemy of liberalism, Metternich, scurrying off to exile.

### *REACTION AGAINST LIBERALISM*

Central Europe was rocked to its foundations. Every capital and city was the scene of riot and bloodshed. The granting of a liberal constitution to Austria prompted uprisings in other parts of the Austrian empire. Under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, Hungary demanded and received a liberal constitution which provided that Hungary should be ruled separately from Austria. Bohemia likewise extracted a liberal constitution from the Austrian emperor.

Many Italian cities soon were in rebellion. Austrian troops were expelled from most of northern Italy. Charles Albert dispatched his troops to help in the war for independence. Even



#### 17TH CENTURY HOUSES IN FRANKFURT

The Frankfurt Assembly, "liberal in composition, turned out reams of liberal resolutions . . . but ended in futility."

autocratic Prussia experienced a revolution which was successful for a time. Frederick William IV promised reforms, and the smaller German states followed suit.

With revolution throughout the lands of the German Confederation, it was natural that reform of that body should be desired. An assembly was called at Frankfurt during May, 1848, to consider the revision of its constitution. The assembly, liberal in composition, passed innumerable liberal resolutions but liberalism had almost run its course. The monarchs of the Germanies were regaining their courage; they resisted the demands of the Frankfurt Assembly, and it ended in futility.



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

## THE OLD FRENCH QUARTER OF STRASBOURG

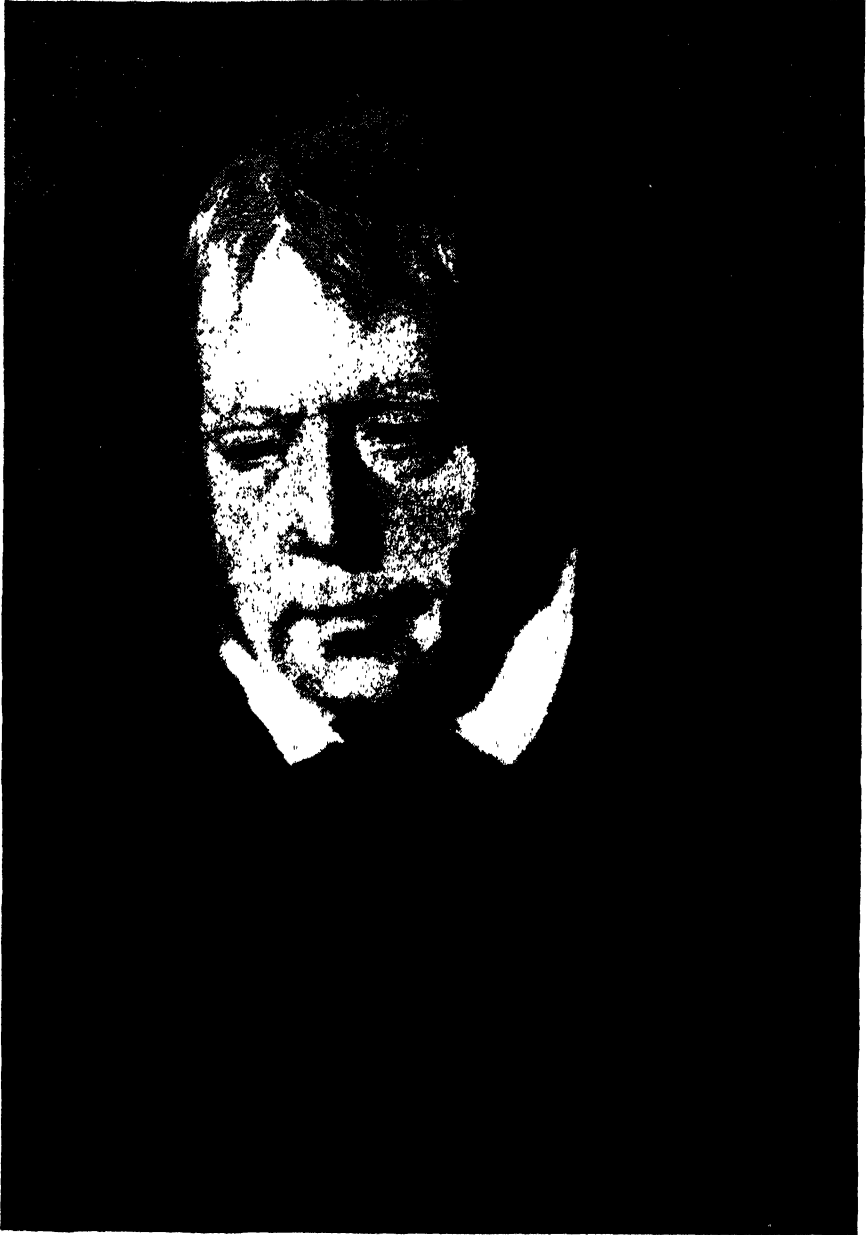
Provincial cities everywhere in Europe lost much of their importance as nationalism began to dominate the minds of men.

For a time constitutions, parliaments, and liberal guaranties were the order of the day but, as we have intimated, the tide was turning. Austrian troops succeeded in subduing the Bohemians and reinstating autocracy. The "War of Liberation" of Charles Albert likewise ended in failure. The rest of Italy witnessed the triumph of counter-revolution in 1849. Austrian generals converged on Vienna and soon brought it under control. Austrian and Russian armies restored the power of the emperor in Hungary. The liberal regime in Prussia was also cut short.

Although the revolutions had been crushed in central Europe, they left more than one trace. A few liberal reforms were retained in Austria. Scandinavian states and Switzerland kept their highly liberal constitutions. Prussia, Denmark, and Holland made concessions to liberalism in their constitutions. It was in England and France, however, that liberalism achieved its greatest triumphs.

The expectations and hopes of the liberals in 1848 were not fully realized. Conservatism, it appeared, had again triumphed over the new forces. But liberalism was not dead. It was to raise its head again and flourish in the succeeding decades.





SIR WALTER SCOTT

. From the beginning of the romantic movement, deeds of national leaders inspired writers and permanently influenced the arts. Scott's novels are outstanding tales of history and Scottish life.

# ROMANTICISM AND REALISM

## DISTRUST OF REASON

THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT, which began late in the eighteenth century, became the dominant cultural development in the first half of the following century. It gained considerable force from current political and military events which could not fail to exercise a profound influence upon intellectual movements.

The eighteenth-century thinkers had exalted man as a rational being within whom lay the power of ruling his destiny; but the irrational occurrences of the revolutionary period and the Napoleonic episode convinced many people that man's reason was far from reliable.

As a result they placed an increasing emphasis upon man's feelings and his relations and responsibilities within society. This romantic tendency is clear in the idealistic German philosophy which was begun by Kant who had emphasized man's spirit and duties. Fichte and Hegel continued this trend in the nineteenth century.

In religion the Christian revival of the preceding period was fervently and emotionally continued. The Catholic Church was conspicuous in this movement, and Pope Pius VII was a notable world figure. His dignified conduct during mistreatment at the hands of Napoleon excited admiration. Under his guidance Catholicism recovered much of the ground it had lost during the French Revolution.



Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

UNIVERSITY AT BONN

Nationalism of the Napoleonic era was another element contributed by the political background. The deeds of patriotic leaders inspired Romanticists and permanently influenced the arts. This emotionalism and nationalism became increasingly important when combined with the interests of Romanticism which appeared in the eighteenth century. Those interests were rejection of classical restrictions, description of natural scenes, interest in man's daily life, portrayal of the past, and study of man's thoughts and aspirations.

All these elements are perhaps best seen in literature, in which two general trends can be found in all nations. An earlier phase of Romanticism, from approximately 1800 to 1830, was dominated by one group of writers, while a new group appeared from about 1830 to 1880, in the period which has become known as the Victorian Age.

### *VARIETIES OF EUROPEAN ROMANTICISM*

In England, beautiful poetry was written by five great authors on a vast number of subjects. Wordsworth glorified nature and the simple man, while Coleridge told of mysterious, supernatural happenings. Byron narrated exciting adventures of sinister, romantic young men who defied social conventions, while Shelley's passionate cry for freedom verged on hysteria. Keats reveled in beautiful sights and sounds and romantic love.

In prose, Scott's novels told stirring tales of history and Scottish life. The essayists of the day described everything from roast pig and prize fights to the pleasures of opera and opium.

In the Victorian period, Tennyson dealt romantically with the stories of past chivalry and modern achievements, and Browning in his highly complicated and obscure style portrayed nobles, artists, musicians, and lovers, respectable and otherwise, in all periods of history. Later, the so-called pre-Raphaelite writers sought to paint portraits in their poems; and in his rebellion against the restrictions of society, Swinburne used such free language that he scandalized his generation.

The innumerable novelists treated various realistic subjects: the struggles and misfortunes of lower middle-class people, the

style." Classicism in portrait painting and architecture likewise continued in Italy and England, while in America its influence was evident in the new capital city of Washington, particularly in the Capitol and the White House.

True Romanticism, however, is illustrated by Delacroix, whose strong brilliantly-colored paintings of military scenes revealed the pain of battle; by the more serene landscapes of the English painter, Constable; and the vivid water scenes of Turner.

The later period was marked by the leadership of France. The charming landscapes of Corot were widely influential, and in France their effect is seen in the work of Millet, famous for his depiction of poor but inspiring peasants. In England the only painting of any significance was done by the Pre-Raphaelites, so called because they went back to the Middle Ages for their inspi-



THE ROAD TO ARRAS

One of Corot's widely influential and charming landscapes hanging in the Louvre.

ration in chivalric and religious subjects. At the same time, there was also a more realistic trend, exemplified by the brilliant caricatures of the English Cruikshank and the French Daumier, who also painted religious themes.

## STYLES IN ARCHITECTURE

In architecture the particular manifestation of romanticism was the revival of Gothic, or medieval style, which during the classical period had been banned as barbaric. An important force in this movement was the writing of John Ruskin, who pointed out the beauties and advocated the use of medieval forms. The movement, which spread throughout Europe, is illustrated by the restoration of Notre Dame cathedral in Paris and the erection of both religious and business structures in this mode.

This movement, however, could not supersede the classic style which had dominated architecture for so long. Classicism in public buildings continued in all countries, with modifications to suit each nationality, as exemplified by the Palace of Justice in Belgium.

## ROMANTICISM IN MUSIC

The great early exponent of Romanticism in music was Beethoven, whose symphonies and other instrumental and choral works are outstanding for their depth of feeling. At the same time, in obscurity, Schubert was writing his beautiful melodies, while Mendelssohn was popular because of such romantic works as incidental music for *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The later period was distinguished by the exquisitely delicate piano music of Chopin and the brilliant piano and orchestral music of Liszt.

In opera, during the early years, Weber introduced fairy lore and other romantic subjects. Italian operas also replaced ponderous classical subjects with the charming gaiety of Rossini's *Barber of Seville* and similar treatments of romantic subjects with warm melody. A particularly romantic aspect appears in the beginnings of light opera, exemplified by *Fra Diavolo*.

The later period was marked by a succession of notable composers, who because of their national characteristics are thought of

Meanwhile realism appeared in many guises in the United States. A group of critical writers, called muckrakers, revealed deplorable conditions in industrial and political life. The arid nature of small-town life was scathingly analyzed, and human conduct was portrayed in uncomplimentary terms.

Sometimes writers combined realistic material with non-realistic qualities. Thus Daudet, the Frenchman, used a romantic approach at times. Tolstoi infused spiritual and mystic qualities into his work, and the colorful D'Annunzio was distinguished by his intense national enthusiasm.

A somewhat different offshoot of Realism was Impressionism, which advocated the mere suggestion of an idea or emotion, which the senses can then interpret and appreciate. This method, putting the maximum value upon words themselves and the resulting sensations, is seen in the work of such individuals as Pater and, more particularly, Oscar Wilde in England. It was condemned by many who saw in it only decadence. With less sensuousness and more mystical quality, the movement was taken up by the Irish poets and playwrights and the Belgian Maeterlinck.

### *PAINTING IN MANY STYLES*

Similarly in painting, both classical and romantic creations continued. But here also were new developments wherein France clearly took the lead. As in literature, Impressionism became important. Its treatment ranged through the Spanish subjects of Manet, the ballet girls and other characters of Degas, the landscapes and nudes of Renoir, and the ocean and city scenes of Monet. Its influence spread even to America in the paintings of Whistler and the more distinguished portraits of Sargent.

Cézanne's rejection of impressionistic vagueness in favor of simpler, more vivid painting, places him as a forerunner of Post-Impressionism. Also notable were the crudely vigorous and intensely colorful primitive works of Gauguin and the sunlit landscapes and bright flowers of Van Gogh.

The art of caricature, which had continued since the eighteenth century, was extremely popular in the new realistic age; for



Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

"PORTRAIT OF ARTIST'S MOTHER, ARRANGEMENT IN GREY,"  
BY JAMES MACNEILL WHISTLER

years such men as Tenniel in *Punch* humorously portrayed the life about them.

In sculpture, the same tendencies were present. Among the more famous sculptors of the time is the American Saint-Gaudens, while in France the genius of Rodin expressed itself in startlingly forceful creations.

### CONFLICTING TRENDS IN OTHER ARTS

Classicism remained dominant in architecture, with the majority of public buildings designed in this manner. A new trend, however, was also present, for Byzantine architecture was occasionally

used in Catholic church construction. Of even greater significance was a more modern tendency. As steel increased in industrial importance, it became a building material. The resulting structures were in their utilitarian simplicity unlike anything in earlier periods.

In this age of realism, however, music remained romantic. In instrumental music, the genius of Brahms was conspicuous, both for his lofty symphonies and his dance forms which drew upon Hungarian folk tunes for themes. Particularly nationalistic were the composers of some of the smaller nations, such as Dvorák who glorified Bohemian music and Grieg who conveyed the scene and traditions of Norway. The operas of Puccini, Massenet, and Strauss continued the trends of their respective nationalities. In Russia, old history and legends were embodied in opera by Mousorgsky, Tschaikovsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov. The vogue for light operas increased, with Gilbert and Sullivan humorously satirizing their times in popular melody.

### *RELIGION BECOMES REALISTIC*

Thought in the nineteenth century reflected the realistic attitude being taken in science, business, and some of the arts. Practicality in imperialism, in economic and social philosophy, and in political manipulations is treated elsewhere, but it is appropriate to notice at this place the effect of Realism upon religion and philosophy.

In some respects the old romantic spirit continued, and, in truth, religion developed in many and diverse directions. The Catholic Church wielded its vast power toward even greater faith, and was especially influential among the humble poor of Europe. Protestant churches also increased in number. The Oxford movement in the English Church, which eventually carried its leader, John Henry Newman, into the Catholic Church, proved that there were still diversified beliefs and sincere spirits in the Christian religion.

The organization of such groups as the Salvation Army and the Y.M.C.A. revealed Christianity as a living, serviceable faith. The missionary activities of all branches of the Christian Church,



both in revival work in the Western world and in the spread of Christianity to Africa and the East, revealed the power of the Church to grow. Here were evidences of a more realistic approach. The new organizations showed that greater emphasis was being put upon works, with less insistence upon unquestioning faith. The Roman Catholic Church was itself leading a fight against the doubts of the day.

Theology was on the defensive. Confronted by science, particularly Darwin's theories as popularized by Huxley,—theories which seemed to suggest that this is a self-operating world without the creating and guiding hand of a master,—many persons wavered in their faith. Added to this thought were philosophies which denied the existence of God. The older German idealists had been displaced by skeptical, realistic thinkers like Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, who discarded all thoughts of gods in favor of man's own importance and power. Herbert Spencer expounded materialistic views of man and the world.

In the face of all this, believers were set busy reversing and testing their attitudes. In trying to reconcile science and theology, they obtained varying results; some had their faith strengthened, some retained a belief in God but rejected the details of Biblical theology, while still others became atheists. A similar reaction occurred among the Jews, who were achieving new heights of freedom and influence and were already beginning to incur increased opposition of anti-Semitic groups. The Russian Orthodox Church met no challenge and continued much as before. The backward condition of the people and the unity of church and state made the result possible.

This skeptical attitude in religion, the arts, sciences, and philosophy became even stronger during the twentieth century. The aftermath of the World War brought disillusionment not only in politics, but also in other aspects of life. Literature turned to a searching investigation of the darker side of human nature. Modern composers, in an attempt to convey more accurately the ideas and emotions of the modern tempo, employed new and strange techniques. New "isms" were invented to solve new social problems. Furniture and architecture became increasingly func-

# A CENTURY OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

## THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING IN THE UNITED STATES

THE BREAK BETWEEN AMERICA AND EUROPE was made final by the Treaty of Ghent in 1815. America turned from foreign affairs, and facing westward thought in terms of internal development. A period of nationalism, intense and all-embracing, followed.

New territory was added in 1819, when Florida was purchased from Spain for five million dollars after Andrew Jackson, in pursuit of Creek and Seminole Indians, had led an army into the peninsula. Both deeds earned the praise of the national-minded pioneers on the frontier, who had been pouring in great numbers down the western slope of the Appalachians. New states were formed, almost doubling the original number.

Internal affairs occupied the attention of leaders and voters. Jefferson's party remained unopposed during Monroe's administration, and by 1820 there was no doubt that the old Federalist party would never be revived. With no opposition, however, the Democrat-Republicans suffered an internal split. The leaders of the two factions realized that subsequent elections would turn on domestic issues instead of on the Anglo-French rivalry which was so prominent in the days of Hamilton and Jefferson.

The break in the "Era of Good Feeling" began in 1824, when John Quincy Adams defeated Jackson for the presidency through the influence of Henry Clay. During the ensuing administration,



MARTIN VAN BUREN



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

#### JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Adams and Clay advocated high tariffs, a large navy, sound currency and other measures in the interests of the industrial East.



#### HENRY CLAY

Clay's powerful influence aided John Quincy Adams in defeating Jackson for the presidency in 1824. Adams and Clay took the name National Republicans, and were later Whigs.

there were obvious indications that two parties would be in the field in 1828. The political split was partly personal, but domestic issues were involved to a much greater extent. Adams and Clay advocated high tariffs to protect the industries which had developed during the Napoleonic wars. Both men supported higher education, a large navy, a sound currency, and a national bank, all in the interests of the industrial East. They wooed the West with plans for canals and roads. Referring to all these policies as the "American System," the followers of Adams and Clay assumed the name National Republicans and were later called Whigs.

The National Republicans were opposed by Jackson, Calhoun, and Van Buren, who called themselves Jeffersonian Democrats. Through them the West and the South were joined in an agrarian bloc. Popular fervor was aroused in the campaign of 1828, and carried Andrew Jackson into the presidency.

## "KING ANDREW"

This election went farther than that of Jefferson in giving power to the common man. The suffrage, or right to vote, had been greatly extended following the admission of the pioneer states. The eastern laboring classes joined forces with the farmers and the southerners against their own leaders. The unwashed frontiersmen who spat tobacco juice on the White House rugs had no patience with traditional conventions.

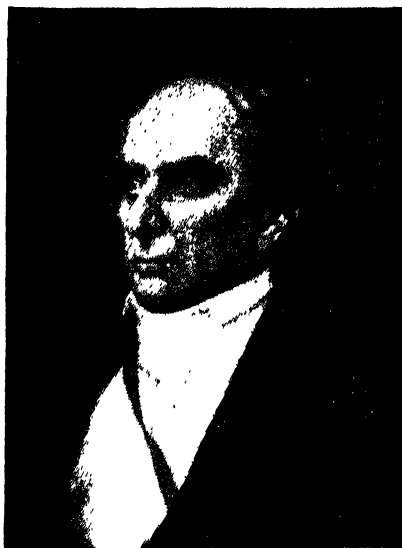
A few good and many bad officials were removed from office to make way for the "representatives of the people," the loyal supporters of Jackson. "To the victor belong the spoils" was the excuse given. After that date the "spoils system" of rewarding supporters with government jobs, and the party-machine system of organizing leaders to work for votes, became prominent features of American politics.

The South, since it imported clothing and other goods, opposed the high tariff of 1828, which favored industrial New England. Senators Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Hayne of South Carolina, took sides in a famous debate to gain Western support for their particular view of the tariff measure. Webster turned the debate into patriotic emotionalism. He begged the West to uphold the nation and not permit it to be broken up. Hayne's

### DANIEL WEBSTER

American statesman and orator of the first half of the nineteenth century, best known for the speeches he made in upholding the national rights as against states rights. Trained as a lawyer, he built up an enviable reputation as a legal adviser and at least one of his cases, that in which he defended Dartmouth College, ranks among the "great" legal controversies in American History. His speeches, too, were long remembered, for it was a custom to memorize them for schoolroom orations. While he held the office of Secretary of State, he settled an important boundary dispute between the United States and Canada.

Courtesy The Chicago Public Library



theory that the Union was a purely voluntary association of states, each with the right to nullify federal law, was branded by Webster as a theory that would sunder the Union. Such an appeal won the West, which staunchly supported Jackson when he prepared to send federal troops into South Carolina to quell the rising nullification sentiment. Fortunately, South Carolina receded from her position and Congress eased the tariff issue before armed rebellion broke out.

Another dispute during "King Andrew's" first term arose over Jackson's failure to recharter the Bank of the United States, favoring certain state banks instead. However, Jackson was re-elected in 1832, to the dismay of the financial leaders and industrialists. The Bank was destroyed and "pet banks" set up. If the people of the North did not like the loss of the Bank, at least they came to have more and more control over the West, which became tied to the Northeast by canals, highways, and later by rail.



Courtesy Portland Chamber of Commerce

#### GORGE OF THE COLUMBIA NEAR PORTLAND, OREGON

With the Mexican cession and the acquisition of Oregon, United States stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific.



Courtesy St. Louis Chamber of Commerce

#### CENTURY-OLD ST. LOUIS COURTHOUSE

Here is where Dred Scott's famous fight for freedom began—one of the many incidents that increased the tension between the North and South.

### *THE SLAVERY QUESTION*

The economic and cultural differences between the slave and the free-labor regions caused political strife for many years. Jackson's successors, from Van Buren to Buchanan, continued to be plagued by sectionalism. Politics of the time necessarily concerned regions of the country, rather than economic classes in the population, or national problems. A sectional balance had to be observed at all times. For a long time the admission of a new slave state was followed by a new free state, thus preserving an equality of political power between the two sections in senatorial votes.

There was considerable acrimonious discussion before the ad-

mittance of Missouri in 1820. The Missouri Compromise permitted her to enter as a slave state, but all the rest of the Louisiana purchase north of Missouri's southern boundary, should be free territory. The frontiersmen feared slavery because the plantation system would endanger their independent farms. The Southern planters demanded more land open to slavery, and in 1854 the Missouri Compromise was repealed, allowing the people of each new territory to decide whether they would prohibit slavery or not. "Bleeding Kansas," fought for by both factions, was the result.

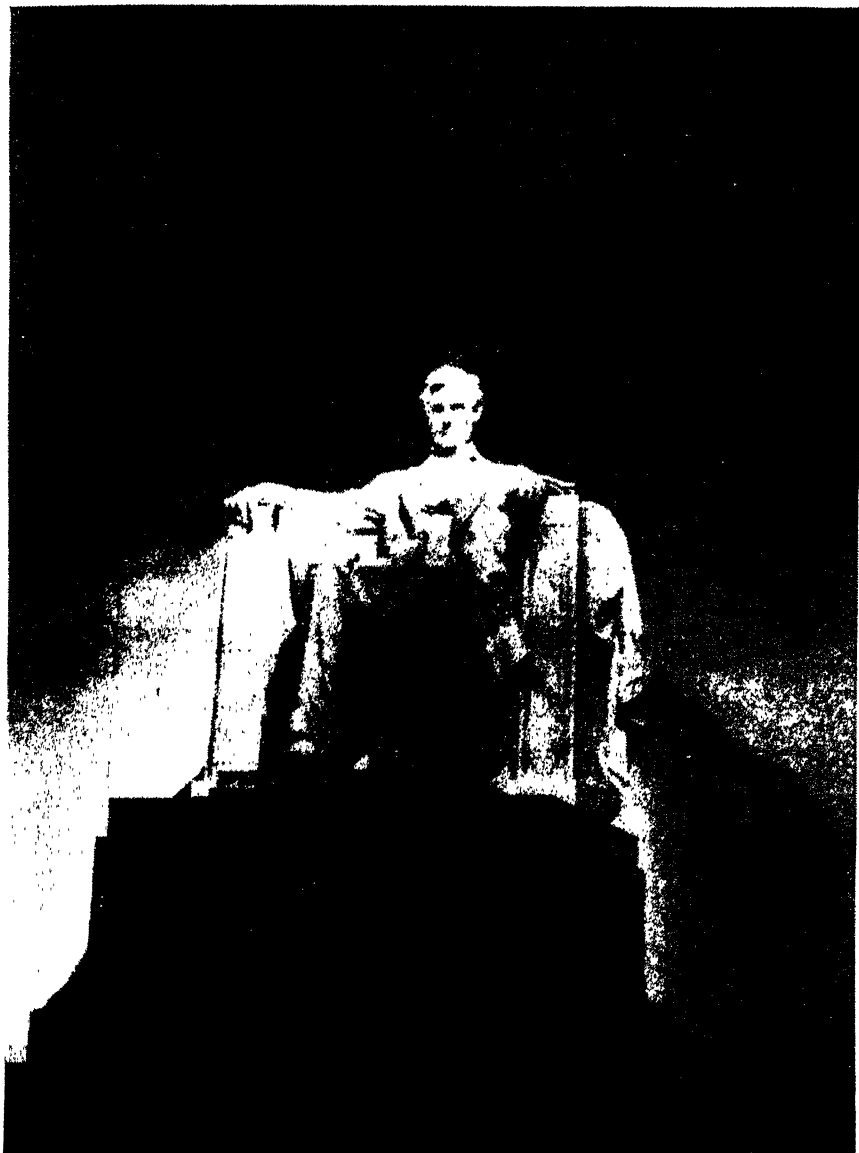
This crisis was aggravated by the famous Dred Scott decision. Dred Scott, a slave who had been taken into the free state of Illinois and the free territory of Minnesota, sued for his freedom. The federal Supreme Court ruled that he could not sue, and that Congress never had the right to legislate against slavery in territories.

The northern and western opposition to slavery played a part in the formation of the new Republican party and its candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was elected president in 1860.

## SECESSION

First Jefferson, then the New Englanders in the War of 1812, South Carolina in 1828, and now the South again, argued for the rights of individual states as sovereign powers to withdraw from the Union they had made in 1789. South Carolina was the first actually to break with the Union.

American history, from Lincoln's fateful decision to keep the southern states in the Union by force until the end of the shameful reconstruction period, is an unhappy story. Instead of a short war, as both North and South had expected, the Civil War dragged on for four years. Lincoln's task, once the war began, was to offset war weariness. His cabinet, composed of able men and strong Republicans, though independent-minded, was held in line largely by Lincoln's personality and the utter necessity of wartime unity.



Black Star photo. Copyright by Kurt Severin.

STATUE OF LINCOLN IN LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
"To express Northern opposition to the extension of slavery the new Republican party was formed. It elected Lincoln president in 1860."



## REPUBLICAN RECONSTRUCTION

After the war Lincoln's tempering influence was lost when he was assassinated. Party and sectional spirit ran wild, and President Johnson, Lincoln's successor, was impeached and almost removed from office. The Republicans retained their northern and western support by "waving the bloody flag" and proclaiming themselves the saviors of the Union. In the South too, they sought political dominance by humbling and disfranchising the former planters, and refusing to readmit the states until the Negro was given the right to vote.

This policy actually resulted in making the whites the ruled, and the Negroes, together with the northern fortune seekers, the rulers. The South responded by organizing the Ku Klux Klan and adopting other means to intimidate the Negroes in order to restore white rule. When the Southerners finally did recover the government, the old, paternal consideration of the Negro had disappeared and he has ever since been kept in a position unfavorable to his social, economic, or political development.

General Grant, elected on his war record, succeeded Johnson. The Republican party remained in power, with the exception of Grover Cleveland's two terms, until Wilson's election in 1912. The principles of the party, after Lincoln's death, were a high protective tariff, freedom for business, protection of American investments abroad, sound money, patriotic nationalism, and land grants for railroads in the West.

## NEW TRIUMPHS

During the post war period the army busied itself with "pacifying" the Indians. This was the era of the Golden West, with rough and ready cowboys driving huge herds over public lands from Texas to the Kansas railroad towns. Pushing ever westward were the grain farmers, fencing broad fields with the newly invented barbed wire and fighting with the cattlemen, whose methods demanded open prairies.

Railroad building typified the dramatic developments of the time, especially in this new West. Private financial giants raised huge sums, secured immense land grants, and built interlocking



Paul's Photos, Chicago

"THIS WAS THE ERA OF THE GOLDEN WEST . . ."

systems in spite of great obstacles, and in many instances, lined their own pockets with fabulous profits. As business organizations grew in size and the corporate form of ownership came in, financiers took the control from owners and managers. Every method which would yield a profit was tried. Stocks were sold at fictitious values, competition was killed, secret price fixing and price rebating arrangements were made. Trusts, controlling entire industries, and pools for manipulating stocks and commodities, obtained special favors from the railroads, while government officials appeared to keep their eyes closed.

### *SECTIONAL POLITICS REPLACED BY CLASS POLITICS*

The methods of such capitalists and industrialists as the Cooks, Fiskes, Goulds, Harrimans, Hills, Drews, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Astors, and their lesser imitators, explain much of the political life of late nineteenth-century America. In the process, public officials as well as the financiers were bribed and corrupted. Public opinion was divided. There were those who felt that great



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

#### A PRAIRIE SCHOONER

It was in vehicles like this, often drawn by oxen, that early settlers pushed their way intrepidly into the West.

accomplishments of the "robber barons," as these financiers have been called, justified even greed and cruelty. Many, too, would themselves have liked to imitate them. Others were indignant at the ruthlessness of the competition, which injured both the public and the smaller business men, while some saw possibilities for a general prosperity such as had never been equaled in the history of the world.

Grant and his Republican successors were plagued by a series of scandals which showed the profiteers to be working hand in glove with the party. The Democratic party and various third parties made use of popular discontent, intensified by the realization on the part of the public of the growing corruptness of municipal government.

These Democrats and third parties tried to unite the laboring class of the cities with the farmers. They promised lower tariffs, a larger voice in government for the common people, regulation of business, higher grain prices, lower real-estate taxes, and reform generally. With the Negro vote intimidated or not counted, the Democrats were assured the votes of the "Solid South," but the Republicans usually held a majority in the North and West.

The agrarians, Populists, inflationists, and other third parties, though failing to win national elections, established various progressive reforms in their own states. Popular initiation of laws, referendum by the people, recall of officials, direct primaries, and popular election of senators, sprang from these movements. The attempts at state regulation of railroad and utility rates, usually were declared unconstitutional by the federal courts; but as indignation grew, the major parties eventually espoused reforms. Lower tariffs and inflation were the chief issues of most of the national campaigns. Inflation was to be accomplished by coining much of the West's silver, thereby making money plentiful for the benefit of the debtor classes.

### *THE OUTS FAIL TO GET IN*

The Democrats were able to elect Grover Cleveland in 1884 and again in 1892. This second administration was marked by the great depression of 1893. Cleveland found it increasingly difficult to redeem the government notes in gold as required by law. J. P. Morgan and other bankers formed a pool to rescue federal credit. In the election of 1896, the Democrats repudiated Cleveland and nominated William Jennings Bryan. This popular orator from the Platte stumped the country, advocating free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. The common man, he said, was being crucified on a "cross of gold" for the benefit of the propertied classes. With Mark Hanna, a great industrialist, managing the Republican campaign, William McKinley was elected. The conservatives had triumphed temporarily; but five years later an accident put a vice-president into the White House, who the Democrats later claimed, "stole all of Bryan's issues."

### *THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT*

This "accidental" president was the most striking individual to occupy the presidential chair between Lincoln and Wilson. In fact, the contemporaries of Theodore Roosevelt considered him either a demigod or a demagogue.

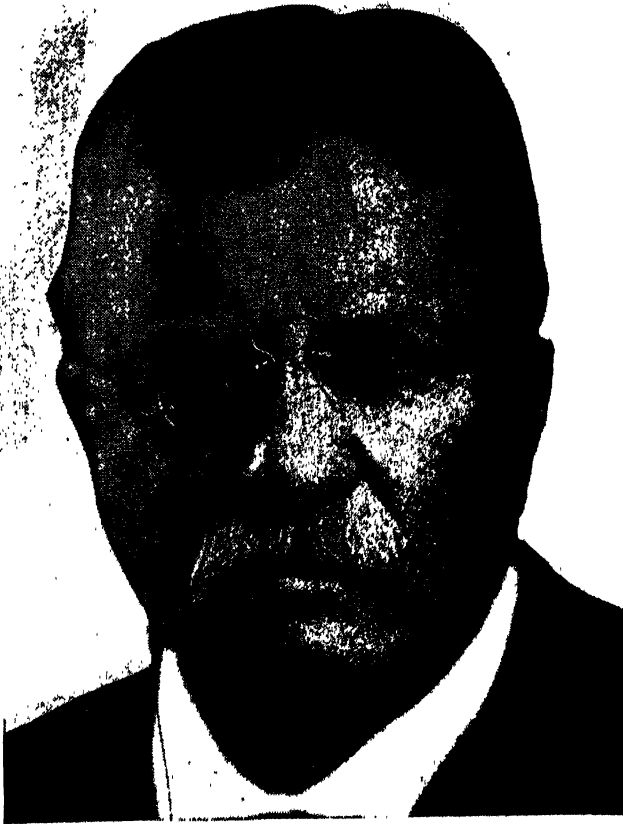


Photo from Underwood & Underwood, Chicago

#### COLORFUL ROUGH RIDER HERO OF SAN JUAN

Theodore Roosevelt, as vice-president, became president when McKinley was assassinated, and wielded the "big stick" on trusts and monopolies.

His heroic exploits in Cuba, while of only slight military value, made good newspaper copy, and upon his return the Republican leaders of New York state could not avoid nominating him for the governorship. As governor, Roosevelt was self-willed and energetic, and dismayed the leaders of the party machine. They were pleased with a plan to use Roosevelt's popularity in 1900, and at the same time remove him from state politics. These politicians proposed Roosevelt as the vice-presidential candidate to campaign with McKinley whose renomination was assured. McKinley and his advisers, as well as Roosevelt himself, had little

enthusiasm for the idea. Nevertheless, Theodore Roosevelt became vice-president.

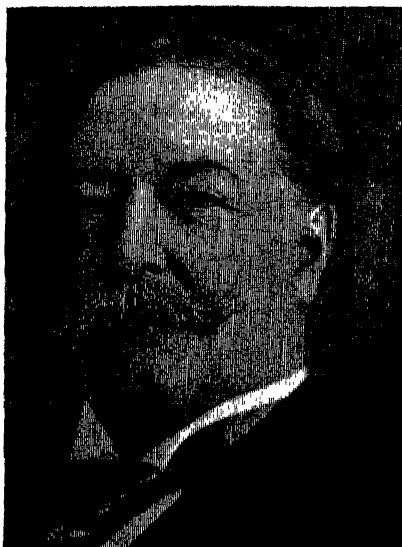
The professional politicians were well pleased with their strategy. They had shelved Roosevelt and as vice-president he could not interfere with the party machine. One can imagine their consternation when he became president upon McKinley's assassination!

His dominating personality and interest in reform led to the prosecution of many trusts and monopolies, which had long been operating illegally. The reforms previously supported by the farmer and labor groups were now pushed by the Republican party under Roosevelt's leadership. Good city government, particularly the city-manager plan, regulation of business in the public interest, votes for women, and a general humanitarian movement were added to the demands of the earlier reform parties. Roosevelt, moreover, pointed out and sought to stop the terrific waste of forest, soil, and mineral resources by dam-building, reforestation, regulation, and reservations. At the same time, he was an ardent imperialist and nationalist.



Courtesy The Chicago Public Library

ROBERT MARION LAFOLLETTE



Courtesy The Chicago Public Library

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Although elected by a large majority in 1904, he was opposed by the business men and the old-line politicians in his party. He practically chose Taft as his successor in 1908. Taft did not push the reform program with Roosevelt's vigor, for his legalistic mind doubted its constitutionality and questioned the propriety of presidential pressure on Congress.

During Taft's administration, the Republicans split into two factions. The Progressives, typified by Robert La Follette, cried out against what they termed Taft's abandonment of Roosevelt's policies. Upon their favorite's return from his African game hunt and a European tour, they begged him to rescue his "New Nationalism" program. Finally, Roosevelt made his decision, broke with Taft, and announced his candidacy for the 1912 nomination. When the Republicans chose Taft in convention, the Progressives decided to bolt. They held their own convention at Chicago, nominated Roosevelt, and the Bull Moose campaign was on.

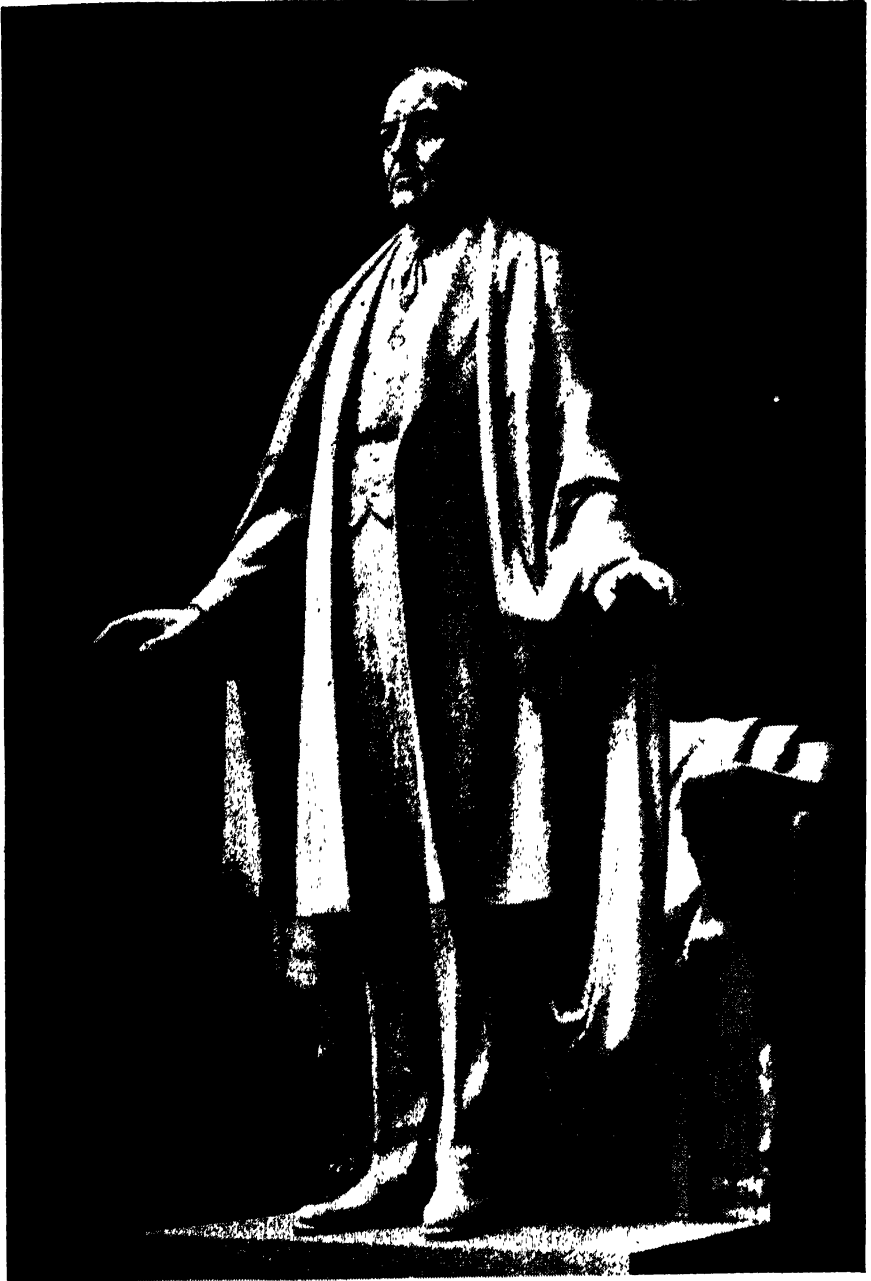
The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, a scholarly idealist, an ex-president of Princeton University, and the liberal governor of New Jersey. Taft's conservatism proved unpopular with the voters, while Roosevelt had no effective organization to work for him. Wilson was elected by a wide plurality but did not have a majority of the popular votes.

### *WILSON'S NEW DEMOCRACY*

The new president referred to his policy as the "New Democracy." He insisted upon a lower and scientific tariff, hoping that such a policy would make it possible to increase American export trade as well as to cut the cost of living for Americans. His objective was reached in the Underwood Tariff Act.

To handle the tangled monetary affairs of the nation, the Democratic party made a monumental contribution to American banking by creating the Federal Reserve system. It corrected to a great extent the inelasticity of the currency and bank reserves, and it enlarged the inadequate credit facilities which had been most uncertain under the old Banking Act of 1863.

Other economic reforms of importance included the creation of the Federal Trade Commission, designed to investigate and curb unsavory business methods; and the Clayton Anti-Trust Act,



WOODROW WILSON

Wilson's attitude toward minority peoples won him favor in many centers of Europe, as indicated by this bronze memorial by Polasek at Prague.



which prohibited certain unfair practices and specifically exempted labor unions from trust legislation. The earlier Sherman Act did not have this provision, and had loopholes which permitted evasion.

The reform elements had been successful early in 1913 in securing the passage of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments. The former provided for the levying of a federal income tax, and the latter for the popular election of senators. The reform movement was thus making definite progress toward social justice in 1914 when international complications interrupted its development.



STATUE OF SAN MARTIN

San Martín's leadership in Chile was noteworthy for the defeat of the royalist forces at Lima, before he gave over his command to Bolívar.

# A CENTURY OF LATIN-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

## SECOND PHASE OF REVOLUTION IN THE SPANISH COLONIES

WHILE THE UNITED STATES was passing through eras of nationalism, civil conflict, industrialization, and social reform, the younger nations of the Americas made slower progress toward national stability. Even the appearance of nations among the Spanish colonies had to wait for the completion of the wars of independence against Spain. Although the first phase of these wars ended in 1815 when Spanish armies restored royal control in the colonies, the desire for independence was by no means overcome.

The military aspects of the revolt consisted of two movements, one beginning in the north and the other in the south, both converging in Peru. Miranda gave over his active leadership in the north to Bolívar, who before 1815 attempted to set up a republic in Venezuela. With the help of British volunteers, he proceeded in the next few years to incorporate Ecuador and New Granada with Venezuela under the name of the Republic of Colombia.



STATUE OF SIMON BOLIVAR, IN  
CARACAS, VENEZUELA

Bolívar is popularly considered the  
"Washington" of South America.

## REVOLT IN SOUTH

In the south, the struggle was handicapped by factional strife. By 1816, however, Argentina had established a republic and proceeded to direct revolutionary efforts in the La Plata Valley. The



Courtesy The Chicago Public Library

#### MORRO HILL: THE OLDEST DISTRICT OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Rio de Janeiro is one of the oldest European cities in the western Hemisphere; Portuguese explorers visited the site of the city in January, 1502, hence its name "Janeiro."

Argentinian, Belgrano, marched northward, but was defeated by royal forces in Bolivia. In Paraguay, however, Dr. Francia crushed the royalists and became dictator. Artigas, the picturesque cowboy of the South American plains, expelled the Argentinians and royalists from his native Banda Oriental. Brazil took advantage of the situation and recovered the region, but finally relinquished it in 1828 and it became the Republic of Uruguay.

Early revolts in Chile were crushed, but with the rise of San Martín to leadership a new era was at hand. He gathered an army at Mendoza, and, after a courageous march to the west coast, won command of the Chilean government. He then turned his attention northward. With more troops and aid from the British Admiral Cochrane's fleet, San Martín defeated the royalist forces at Lima and prepared to establish the Republic of Peru. In the meantime, Bolívar's army had arrived. San Martín, after meeting



The long reign of Pedro over a period of fifty years was one of wise and democratic rule. The civil rights of the people were maintained. Free political discussion was encouraged, and a spirit of moderation prevailed. Dom Pedro visited the United States and Europe in order to broaden his outlook. He encouraged the building of railroads and industries. Surprisingly, slavery was still strong in this "enlightened" country. With some urging from England, Pedro came out for the abolition of slavery. Finally in 1871, a law for the gradual abolition of the institution was passed and by 1888 emancipation was a fact.

### *LIBERATION OF MEXICO*

The death of Morelos in 1815 gave the insurgent movement in Mexico a temporary setback. Guerrilla warfare, however, continued in the south. Meanwhile the revolt had spread to the north of the country, where Mina, with a small force largely recruited in the United States, met defeat and execution. The revolutionary movement was now nearly extinct except on the fringes of Mexico, although Guerrero was still carrying on active guerrilla warfare in the south. General Iturbide, a royalist officer, was sent in 1820 to check the activities of Guerrero. Instead, Iturbide joined forces in that year with the guerrilla chief and, by the Plan of Iguala, united the contending factions. Iturbide assumed the title of emperor, but a revolt in 1823 resulted in his overthrow. In the same year, a republic was established and Central America, which had been annexed by Iturbide, declared itself independent.

### *SOUTH AMERICAN REACTION TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE*

Although sympathetic toward the efforts of Latin-American revolutionaries, the United States felt obliged to maintain a pretense of official neutrality. In fact, the efforts of American filibusters, adventurers who aided the revolutionaries, were tacitly encouraged. The new republics of Latin America clamored for recognition. The question, which aroused considerable debate,

was complicated by boundary difficulties with Spain. Finally, in 1822, recognition was granted.

The European countries followed the example of the United States after the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine. England was the first of the European nations to extend recognition to the new republics.

The issuance of the Monroe Doctrine elicited very little notice from Latin Americans who were much more closely allied economically and culturally with Europe than with the United States. England had early captured the most lucrative Hispanic-American commerce at the expense of the American merchants. French revolutionary philosophy was more popular and influential in directing the course of the uprisings in Spanish America than was the example of the American Revolution.

Bolívar, however, never gave up his hope for an American League, which would guarantee the independence of the new republics. Such a plan was discussed in a congress held in Panama in 1826. It failed, however, for the new republics got to quarreling among themselves and the United States refused to assume leadership because the slavery interests feared that Latin America would attempt to free Cuba and Puerto Rico. Bolívar had hoped that the United States would now join in the freeing of Cuba, but the intervention of the slavery interests of the United States prevented the country from assuming the leadership of the movement.

### *RISE OF DICTATORS IN SPANISH AMERICA*

The post-revolutionary period in Spanish America was one of turbulence and change. Whether the republics should be large or small proved to be a thorny question. At first the plan of a large confederation was attempted. In the end, Spanish America was broken up into nineteen republics.

The turbulence of the period was caused by many factors. The new republics were sadly lacking in political experience and unity. Racial and social antipathies complicated the struggle even more. Political issues were also at stake. Federalism, liberalism, militarism, and clericalism found their advocates and opponents and kept the Latin Americans in a constant state of unrest. In the

ensuing disorders, elections were decided by the force of arms, resulting in the establishment of dictators who were to become so characteristic of the Latin-American political scene.

### *INDEPENDENCE AND CHAOS IN MEXICO*

The history of Mexico after 1824 was typical of that of the other Hispanic-American republics. War, revolutions, and counter-revolutions were the order of the day. Within the space of thirty years, fifty men ruled the unfortunate country. Santa Anna assumed the dictatorship, to be displaced when Texas and California were detached from Mexico by the United States in the Mexican War. Under his Indian successor, Juárez, the republican constitution was restored and a series of liberal reforms instituted.

The machinations of Napoleon III soon changed the scene. In his effort to erect a colonial empire, he sent French troops into Mexico who set up an empire under the puppet emperor Archduke Maximilian of Austria. Juárez resisted, but could do little. After the conclusion of the Civil War, the United States turned her attention to the situation. Partly as a result of her protest based on the Monroe Doctrine, the French troops withdrew, allowing Maximilian to meet his death at the hands of the Mexicans.

Porfirio Díaz, a follower of Juárez, was elected to the presidency on a platform promising no re-election. He then proceeded to assume dictatorial powers which he held with little interruption from 1877 to 1911. During his long regime, Mexico experienced a period of great material growth.

Díaz encouraged the entry of foreign capital into Mexico. Her mines and oil wells were opened to exploitation, railroads were built, and the owners of the great landed estates prospered. But this seeming material abundance was dissipated by the time it seeped through to the lower classes. The peasants, or peons, were in a condition of serfdom, and in their land-hunger lay a fertile field for revolution. In this instance, as in other revolutions occurring in the name of liberalism, the seeds were sown by the middle class.

At first the rising discontent showed itself in a demand for the popular election of a new president and for the dissolution of the

# ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

## FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES

ENGLAND shared Europe's lean years of depression following the Napoleonic crash. As conditions became progressively more disturbing, the electorate was quick to discredit the party in power. The Tory cabinet had seen the country through twenty critical years of war, but was inexperienced in handling problems of peace and reconstruction. That aristocratic party, still representing the landowners, continued passing legislation that favored their own prosperity. Industrial overproduction, the mass of unemployed created by demobilization, and labor riots made clear the need for intelligent remedial legislation.

Castlereagh would not extend British co-operation to the reactionary Quadruple Alliance, but neither would he break with it. Public opinion, increasingly sympathetic to the outbursts of repressed peoples, was to use this further grievance against the Tories. When Canning replaced Castlereagh, he openly championed popular national movements, and in 1823 successfully defied the intervention of the Alliance in the Spanish revolt and the wars for independence in Hispanic America. British interest in the Hispanic trade prompted that stand. The determination to defend it with British naval power made the American Monroe Doctrine effective.

In internal affairs, the new spirit bore fruit in the modification of the criminal and corn laws, repeal of the combination acts



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

BENJAMIN DISRAELI



against labor organizations, and of the civil disabilities of Dissenters and Catholics. The reform of the House of Commons emerged as the chief party issue in the general election of 1830. After the decline of the violent reform element, the moderates, under Lord John Russell, exerted a growing influence. Their groundwork from 1820 to 1830 had given the Whig party a principle on which to unite and successfully contest the election.

### *POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS*

Earl Grey and his colleagues in the new ministry favored liberal reforms. Debate, dissolution, re-election, and a threat to swamp the Lords with new Whig peers, were necessary to put Lord John Russell's broad parliamentary Reform Bill on the statute books. This act removed the worst features of the electoral system by extension of the franchise, improvement in the conduct of elections, and some re-apportionment of representatives.

The mid-nineteenth century marked a high point in the reform movement. Legislation was regarded as the instrument through which Bentham's utilitarianism could become effective. The old doctrine of *laissez faire* was losing its hold before John Stuart Mill's argument that the fair distribution of wealth rather than its accumulation should be the end of economic policy. Of wider immediate influence, because more simple to comprehend, was the current wave of humanitarianism.

In the Factory Act of 1833, abolition of slavery in the colonies, reform of the poor laws and municipal administration, the government moved with crusading fervor against outstanding social injustices. Its record of success was halted when it became impaled upon the difficult Irish problem. The compulsory tithe in support of a Protestant established church, and the predominance of Protestants in civil offices, were opposed with systematic agitation which in many sections became open anarchy. The abolition of tithes and extension of the recent reforms to Ireland temporarily quieted that country.

A party transition gradually took place during an interim of relative inactivity. Some of the conservative Whigs joined the opposition, formerly known as the Tories, and this combination

from now on was known as the Conservatives. Meanwhile, the progressive Whigs and unaffiliated radicals were aligning themselves as Liberals.

After the accession of Victoria in 1837, it was four years before a clear majority put the Conservatives under Peel in office. A new popular demand for reform was sweeping the country. Chartism voiced the demand of the working classes that parliamentary reform be extended. The Anti-Corn Law League, led by Richard Cobden and John Bright, wielded an influence that the government could not ignore. The Oxford Movement carried the reform agitation into the church where it sought moral and cultural refinement in a return to ritualism.

### *FREE TRADE*

The Whig achievement of the Reform Bill was given a Tory equivalent in the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, by which Peel embarked England upon her historic policy of free trade. With the final repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849, the conversion was complete. But the break with tradition split the party which sponsored it. The breach widened because of the differences between John Russell and Lord Palmerston on foreign policy. Weak coalitions alternated in office, bungling the Crimean War. The period from 1859 to 1865 marked Palmerston's complete ascendancy, characterized by great changes in India and by blustering diplomatic gestures toward Europe and America—gestures regretted by all but the Palmerstonians.

### *GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI IN POWER*

Gladstone now succeeded to the leadership of the Liberal party. During the thirty years of his early parliamentary career, he had advanced from high Toryism to the front Liberal rank where his unmatched oratorical powers won him great popularity. The brilliant Disraeli was the intellect and guiding hand of the Conservative party. He matched wit, imagination, and daring against Gladstone's sober reasoning and droning moral tone. Both parties



Homer Smith photo, Chicago

## GEORGE V BRIDGE IN GLASGOW, SCOTLAND

acknowledged that consistency and good government demanded the extension of parliamentary reform. However, the public remained apathetic, and the Liberals advocated several measures without success. In 1866 a reactionary wing of that party blocked the bill and forced the Liberal ministry to resign. Lord Derby and Disraeli formed a Conservative cabinet and, on the wave of aroused popular enthusiasm, won Liberal support by passing a new reform measure. The Act of 1867 practically established universal suffrage in the boroughs, thus enfranchising a large part of the working class.

Ireland was aflame once more, the blaze having been set by the Fenian movement. Gladstone rallied the Liberals for a legislative settlement and succeeded Disraeli as prime minister in 1868. During the next two years he brought about the disestablishment of the Anglican church in Ireland, and obtained a land law intended to prevent eviction of tenants without compensation for property improvements.

An act of 1870 provided for local and national aid to local governments throughout England in establishing public schools

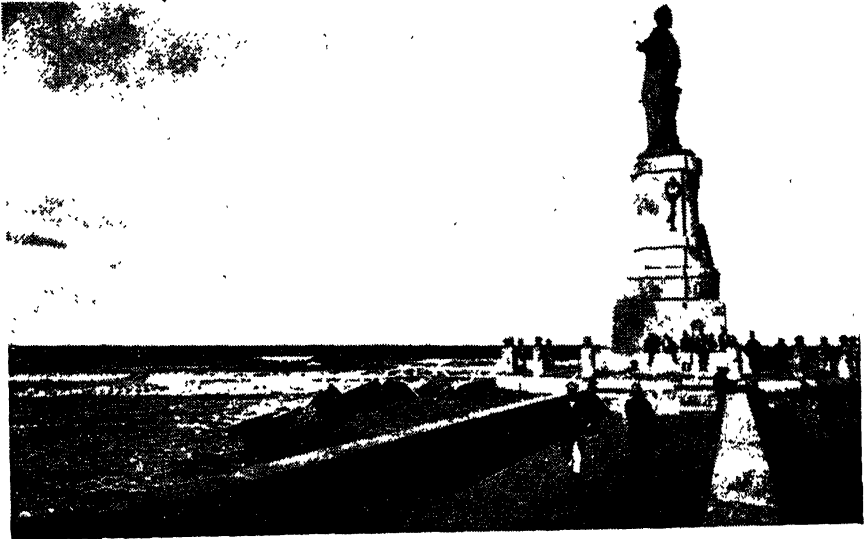


HAWARDEN CASTLE, HOME OF GLADSTONE

where the private school systems were insufficient. A series of governmental reforms included the placing of the civil service on a competitive basis, and the introduction of the secret ballot. In its foreign policy, the cabinet was deemed weak, because aggression in the Near East went unchecked and Gladstone accepted the Geneva award of 1872 regarding the American *Alabama* claims which originated from the destruction of United States' shipping during the Civil War.

Disraeli returned to office in 1874. Although his social and economic measures seemed moderate after the sweeping reforms achieved, he loosed his energies upon a brilliant imperial policy, beginning by purchasing control of the Suez Canal in 1875. He increased British prestige in Africa and in the Near East, and won a diplomatic victory over Russia at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. When the Disraeli ministry swung once more to reaction, Gladstone triumphed in 1880.

One more great step toward parliamentary reform was taken by the Liberals. The acts of 1884-1885 extended the franchise qualifications of 1867 to rural laborers, while the principle of



Paul's Photos, Chicago

## VIEW OF THE SUEZ CANAL

Work on the shipping lane connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas was commenced in 1859, completed in 1869, and control of the canal purchased by England in 1875. De Lesseps' statue is shown at the right.

representation according to population was applied in the distribution of seats. The Irish question came to the fore again when the calculating Charles Parnell became leader of the Irish Nationalists. A new land law could not halt the outrages committed by Parnell's followers. Gladstone compromised with Parnell, achieving a breathing-spell by freeing Irish political rebels.

Salisbury replaced Disraeli in 1885 and headed the new Conservative cabinet. The Ashbourne Act solved the Irish land question by providing government loans enabling tenants to purchase their holdings. Gladstone and his Liberal government introduced a home rule bill for Ireland in 1886. The Conservatives opposed it, while Joseph Chamberlain led the Liberal Unionist wing out of the Liberal party to defeat the measure. The Conservatives held office from 1886 to 1906, with the exception of Gladstone's brief fourth cabinet from 1892 to 1894. Problems of imperialism filled these years.

*EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY REFORMS*

The Liberals won the election of 1906 on a program of social reform. They proceeded to regulate hours and minimum wages, establish workmen's compensation and insurance, old-age pensions and the labor exchange system, and provide salaries for members of the House of Commons.

Lords and Commons finally reached a deadlock in the battle over Lloyd George's 1909 budget for social reform. The persistent upper chamber veto was met by the re-election of the government. Asquith received the royal promise to create enough new peers to pass a bill for the reform of the House of Lords. The act of 1911 established the constitutional principle that the Lords may delay and cause the reconsideration of legislation, but cannot block measures demanded by the Commons.

The dangerous tide of foreign relations with its imperial and naval rivalries crowded out domestic bills in the years before the war. The third Irish Home Rule Bill was introduced and passed the Commons in 1912. After the new two-year lapse, it became law without the Lords' approval, although its operation was postponed for the duration of the war.

*CANADA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

For Canada, the hundred years from 1815 to 1915 were years of nation-building. The United Empire Loyalists, refugees from the American Revolution, were the nucleus of the new Canadian nation. Trained in English institutions of self-government, their agitation had led to the constitutional act of 1791 which separated Upper and Lower Canada, providing separate governments for the British and French units. Although the measure was intended to reduce friction, and did grant a few representative institutions, it perpetuated the alien characteristics of the French population and put an incalculable obstacle in the way of their ultimate absorption.

*RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES*

• All was not quiet on the American front for some years. The westward expansion of the two peoples brought trade rivalries,

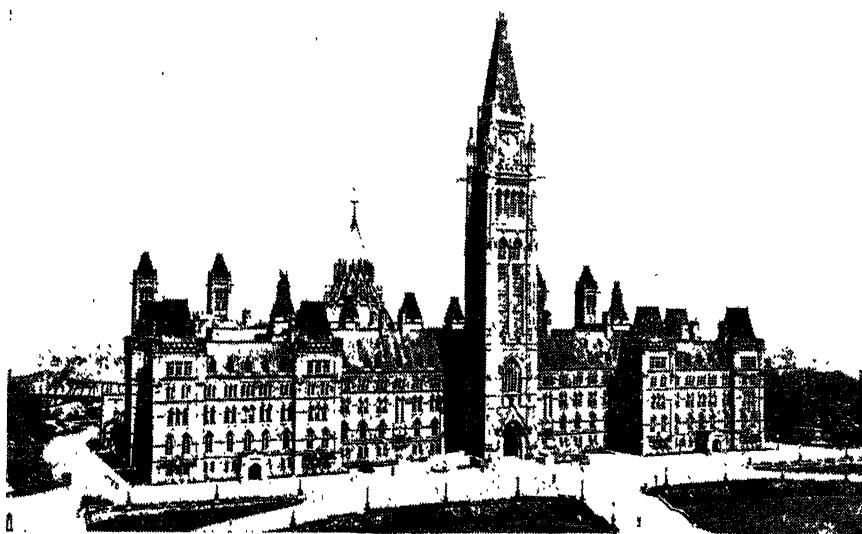
tariff duels, problems of Indian control, and other questions which Jay's treaty did not definitely settle. When war broke out in 1812, the Americans sought to conquer Canada and incorporate it with their expanding state. The sturdy defense against the invaders forged a bond of unity when Canadians of English and French extraction fought side by side.

Diplomatic negotiations in 1817 and 1818 resulted in solving major diplomatic problems. The boundary between the United States and Canada was to be unfortified, and the fisheries dispute was settled temporarily. A territorial dispute in the Lake of the Woods region was arranged through mutual concessions. Two other disputed boundaries, on the northeast and the northwest of the United States, were drawn satisfactorily in 1842 and 1846, respectively.

### *DEMAND FOR POLITICAL REFORM*

Grave abuses in the governmental system in Canada came to light between 1815 and 1837, and a spirit of rebellion was growing. In Lower Canada, the antagonistic assembly demanded control over all expenditures and poured its wrath upon the "château clique" of local British officialdom. Great Britain transferred the permanent crown revenues of the province to the assembly in 1831. Instead of granting in return the desired civil list, irate members led by Papineau prepared the ninety-two resolutions of 1834, a document of extreme demands.

The conflict between elective assembly and appointed legislative council was repeated in Upper Canada. The "family compact" of official oligarchy was no more popular there than in Quebec. Many of the residents were Dissenters, and the extensive lands held as Anglican clergy's reserves created a fundamental grievance. By 1828, the reform party under William Lyon Mackenzie obtained a majority in the assembly. When the governors charged the radicals with disloyalty, many moderate reformers were reluctant to be associated with them. The rebels were armed and made plans to co-operate in the two provinces. The revolt was not against British tyranny from overseas, but against incompetent officials in the province. It was, at best, the disorganized



CANADIAN HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA

attempt of a minority. After the skirmishes of the autumn of 1837, Papineau, Mackenzie, and others fled across the border.

### *DURHAM REPORT*

The British government sent Lord Durham to Canada to investigate and make recommendations. The famous Report, submitted in February, 1839, recommended without reservation complete internal, responsible self-government and the union of the provinces. Without enthusiasm either in England or Canada, Lord John Russell carried the Union Act in 1840. The provinces were united under one governor, an appointed legislative council of twenty, and an elective assembly of forty-two members from each province.

Through succeeding ministries the new government lumbered along attempting to fit the constitution into the parliamentary system, and meeting the indifference or opposition of governors who believed colonial self-government incompatible with imperial control. In 1847 Lord Elgin, Durham's son-in-law, became governor. Undaunted by opposition in Parliament, Elgin risked personal violence and stood by the principle that the execu-



tive must approve all legislation passed by the two Houses. Also, in accord with constitutional practice, Governor Elgin set a precedent by absenting himself from cabinet meetings.

### *CANADIAN ECONOMIC EXPANSION*

In the meantime, social and economic progress was being made. The waves of immigration, improvements in farming, industrial beginnings and the linking of communities by roads, canals, and railways—developments which had taken place below the border—were repeated in Canada. Economic necessity dictated that Canadians must trade with the United States. A minority of over-anxious business men signed the Annexation Manifesto in 1849. But regular channels of negotiation produced the Elgin-Marcy Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which proved beneficial to both countries. It was terminated, however, by the United States in 1866.

### *DOMINION ACHIEVED*

The ten years from 1854 to 1864 saw the collapse of party government. Sectional, racial, and religious antagonisms brought frequent deadlocks. There was an obvious need for a general legislature in which all sections would be equally represented. Statesmen began to think beyond the limits of "province" and to visualize another Anglo-Saxon nation stretching from coast to coast.

Just across the border a war was being waged in vindication of the vital necessity of unity. Much of the North's hostility for Britain during the Civil War was being deflected toward Canada. Possible consequences of this feeling could not be ignored. Delegates of the maritime districts were assembled at Charlestown, Prince Edward Island, when representatives arrived from the other provinces urging participation in a general conference at Quebec to consider Canadian confederation. Here the proponents of confederation headed by Macdonald, Galt, Brown, Tilley, Cartier, and Tupper drew up the Quebec resolutions which became the British North America Act of 1867. This measure provided for a bicameral, or two-chamber Parliament, an elective House and an

appointive Senate. The cabinet, of course, was the real executive; but the governor-general, the right of appeal to the British Privy Council, and certain imperial checks remained. Delegated powers were accorded the provinces, the residue resting with the Dominion.

### WESTWARD ADVANCE

John A. Macdonald took up the manifold duties of premier. He was in office from 1867 to 1891, except for one interim. The old fur-trading companies in the west and north retained some land reserves, but surrendered all rights of jurisdiction to Canada. The westward advance of civilization brought contact with half-savage frontiersmen, scarcely different from the *coureurs-de-bois* of two centuries before. The rebellion of Louis Riel and his malcontents of the Red River district led to the passage of the Manitoba Act in 1870, creating a new province. British Columbia entered the Dominion the next year. A series of treaties established Indian land reserves, and the government agreed to provide implements and means for farming, in return for the land titles and a pledge of peace.

The interests of Canada were recognized when Sir John Macdonald was named one of the British commissioners to negotiate the Treaty of Washington with the United States in 1871. Two years later the Macdonald government became involved in a scandal about bids for the transcontinental railroad which had been promised to British Columbia. Alexander Mackenzie headed a Liberal government for five years, but an economic depression and the lack of a program caused his downfall in 1878. Macdonald's new "National Policy" swept the country. A high protective tariff went hand in hand with a period of good harvest and a western boom. It was more than an economic policy; it was an appeal to nationalism and unity. This feeling was heightened in 1885, when the Dominion was spanned by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Riel attempted another rebellion in the northwest that year, but it was suppressed and its leader executed.

Macdonald, who had steadfastly advocated an imperial policy, was re-elected in 1891, defeating the Liberals, who were accused



Courtesy Canadian National Railways

#### THE FISHERIES OF CANADA

Problems of fishing rights off the coasts of Canada long embroiled the United States, England and Canada in diplomatic disputes.

of favoring a policy of economic union with the United States. Sir John survived the election only a few months. But young Wilfrid Laurier, a French Canadian, won a clear majority in 1896 and became Liberal prime minister. During his term of office, the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were admitted into the Dominion. The new government carried on an extensive program of social and labor reforms and also settled the questions of religious education in Manitoba schools.

#### TARIFF AND ANNEXATION PROBLEMS

Though not an imperialist, Laurier in 1897 extended to Great Britain an imperial preferential tariff. The problem of imperial responsibility and defense occupied much attention during this period. In fact, Robert Borden rebuilt the Conservative party by

advocating Canadian financial contributions to the British imperial fleet.

After years of vainly seeking renewed tariff reciprocity, Canada was surprised to find Washington making that offer in 1911. Laurier was favorable, but the Conservatives and many others could not escape suspicions of some new annexation or union movement. The bold statements of certain American statesmen gave them some cause for hesitation. Once again the old loyalty issue triumphed over the ghost of annexation, and Borden and the Conservatives came into office on a veritable landslide vote.

An indication of the great changes which had come about in the relationship of Canada to Great Britain, was given just before the outbreak of the World War. The Canadians, strongly nationalistic, nevertheless extended a promise of aid if Great Britain entered the war. Developments after the World War further revealed the place of dominions within the British Empire.

### *OTHER BRITISH DOMINIONS—NEWFOUNDLAND*

In general, it may be said that the other Dominions passed through stages of development similar to those which occurred in Canada. The other old North American colony, Newfoundland, did not become a part of Canada. Concerned only with its fishing industry and having nothing in common with the continental problems of Canada, Newfoundland achieved responsible government as a separate Dominion in 1855. Since that time it has not shared the interest of other Dominions in imperial affairs.

### *AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND*

Australia remained an insignificant part of the British Empire until the adoption of systematic colonization in the early nineteenth century. During the 1850's all but one of the states had achieved self-government as separate colonies. The gold rush of that period had a tremendous influence on Australia, increasing and diversifying the population.

New Zealand was colonized through the efforts of land companies and missionary organizations. An imperial Act of 1852



EUCALYPTUS TREES IN THE AUSTRALIAN BUSH

established a united New Zealand, consisting of six provinces. Maori, or native, wars continued till 1870. The provincial system of government was replaced by a single government in 1876. Dominion status was proclaimed in 1907, and New Zealand continues to be the scene of advanced experiments in social legislation.

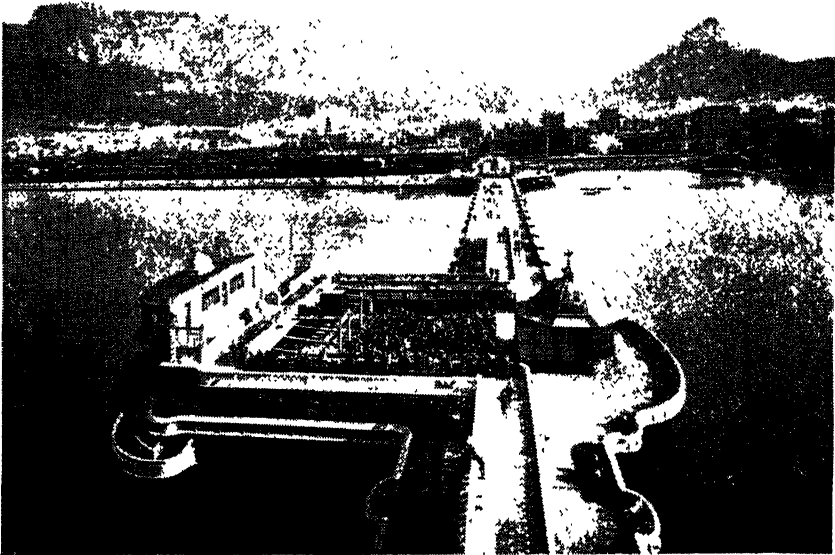
Meanwhile, exploration, industrial progress, and democratic experiments had been proceeding in continental Australia. The first conference of delegates was held in 1880 and plans for a federation were begun. The Constitution Bill of 1900 established a new dominion of six states, called the Commonwealth of Australia.

### *BRITISH DOMINION IN SOUTH AFRICA*

In South Africa, the Boers had tired of living under British rule in Cape Colony. When slavery was abolished, they decided to evacuate and from 1834 to 1840 made the great trek northward across the Orange River. When British jurisdiction was extended here, some of the Dutch migrated farther north into the Transvaal. In a convention of 1852, Britain voluntarily retired, recognizing the independent Orange Free State and South African Republic. Cape Colony became self-governing under the constitution of 1872.

Racial and economic friction between the Boers and the British continued. With the discovery of diamonds, the British frontier was advanced until Disraeli annexed the Transvaal in 1877. Under Gladstone, Conventions of 1881 and 1884 recognized the South African Republic once more. The gold rush in the Transvaal in 1884-1885 created a new situation. To preserve their wealth and ascendancy, the Boers refused practically all civil rights to foreigners. A raid led by Dr. Jameson and sponsored by Cecil Rhodes, premier of Cape Colony, brought on a fresh crisis.

Relations became steadily worse, and in 1899 the two Boer republics sent Britain an ultimatum which meant war. The British were unprepared and slow to get under way, but the outcome was inevitable. The generous peace of 1902 and the granting of com-



Courtesy Union of South Africa Government Offices

### CAPETOWN, WITH TABLE MOUNTAIN AND LION'S HEAD IN BACKGROUND

plete responsible government to the conquered colonies within five years was a wise and brilliant measure. The South African colonies became the Union of South Africa in 1909.

### *BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA*

Although it neither attained dominion status nor remained completely a crown colony in this period, India made important progress. The governors of the early nineteenth century did valuable work in abolishing many of the old barbaric customs. The monopoly of the East India Company was being continually reduced to make way for greater imperial and native control of the government. There were also delicate situations on the northern frontiers which required preparedness. The Sepoy mutiny of 1857 brought a rigorous revision in the supervision of India. The old company was dissolved and India came directly under the pro-



Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

CASTELLO del OVO  
Before the unification of Italy, the Italian p  
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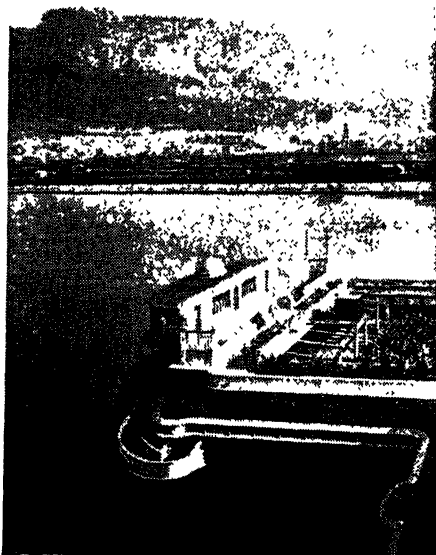
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## UNIFICATION OF ITALY

IN 1815 ITALY was a "geographic expression." Napoleon had done much for the awakening of Italy, although he had not unified the peninsula. Austria, at the Congress of Vienna, regained her control over Italy, and enforced upon the various states her reactionary policy. In opposition to this repression arose a secret society, called the Carbonari, which by acts of terrorism and violence attempted to throw off Austria's rule. In 1821 rebellions in the north and south were quelled by Austria, with the aid of foreign troops.

Violence failing, Italian revolutionary movement broke out in a different field—that of letters. Joseph Mazzini, a literary man, deeply impressed by visions of a united nation, formed a society known as "Young Italy," which had for its aims Italian nationalism and the repulsion of Austria. Gioberti, a priest, having much the same ideas as Mazzini, though he desired an aristocracy rather than a republic, also wrote urging Italian independence. To this





Courtesy Union of South Africa Government Offices

literary-revolutionary movement is given the name "Risorgimento," or resurrection.

In 1848, continent-wide revolutions embarrassed Austria. This was the signal for Italy to arise. Austria triumphed once more, however, and dealt severely with the liberals who had instigated the uprising. But the spirit of freedom was not to be denied. Piedmont, though defeated, achieved a constitution under Victor Emmanuel and now formed the center of the movement. The minister of Victor Emmanuel, Count Cavour, was the guiding force, and under his direction Italian

CAPETOWN, WITH TABLE MOUNT UNIFICATION WAS COMPLETED.

Cavour involved Piedmont in the Crimean War in 1855 with the hope of gaining the aid of France and England against Austria. In the congress following the war, Cavour partially succeeded in his hope and two years later, with the aid of France, the Austrians were defeated though they still retained the province of Venice because France deserted the Italians. The kingdom of Naples, and the Papal States were the scenes of the next step in unification. Giuseppe Garibaldi had little trouble in organizing and carrying through a successful revolution in 1860, which united Naples and part of the Papal States to Sardinia.

An Italian kingdom was formed, headed by Emmanuel, whose power was limited by a constitution. As a result of siding with Prussia in the war with France, when the French troops protecting Rome for the pope were withdrawn in 1870, that city was occupied and made the capital. Although the state sought to reach an agreement with the Church, the popes remained in the Vatican as "prisoners" until after the World War.

Internal improvements, including financial, educational, and

the chief aid to union in 1871. Standing in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, in the defeated enemy's territory, Bismarck proclaimed the new German Empire.

Germany waxed strong under the guidance of Bismarck. To him the ever present fear of a French war of revenge provided a powerful motive for placating all classes of people. To the workers he gave important concessions, including insurance and old age compensation, steps which put Germany years ahead of the rest of Europe. To the business classes he gave a tariff, and after 1884 pursued an imperialistic policy. Bismarck's adroit diplomacy placed Germany among the leading powers, and it soon became one of the most powerful. But Bismarck was displaced, in 1890, soon after the accession of the new emperor, William II, who directed German policy thereafter.

### TURKEY

The Turkish empire, though diminished from its former size, was still great in extent and important in the affairs of Europe. A gradual disintegration, caused by the nationalistic spirit of the people within its boundaries, took place in the period from 1815 to 1914. Russia threatened her from the outside, and revolutions menaced completely to remove the empire from the map.

Serbia had revolted in 1804 and had achieved a measure of independence, and in 1821 the Greeks revolted. The revolt was not immediately quelled, and foreign powers intervened to aid the Greeks. The Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 considerably reduced the power of the sultan in Europe, and gave Greece her complete independence. Russia then supported Serbia which became independent in 1829.

Russia also gained control over the Rumanian provinces north of the Danube. England and France, disturbed by the growing power of Russia, combined against her in the Crimean War. The people of Moldavia and Wallachia began to think of themselves as a definite nation and, finally, in 1862, the state of Rumania was created. Beginning in 1875 revolts again broke out in the Balkans. Herzegovina rose in 1875, and soon Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia took the field against the sultan.

War between Russia and Turkey broke out in 1877. By the following year Russia and the Balkan states had won. The Treaty of San Stefano forced Turkey to recognize the sovereignty of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, and created an autonomous Bulgaria under the administration of the sultan. The Balkan peoples were disappointed in the provisions of the treaty, none of them having become as strong as they wished. But Russia had gained all she desired, to the dismay of the other nations. These nations, at the instigation of Disraeli, demanded a congress at Berlin which was held in the same year, with the crafty Bismarck presiding as an "honest broker."

This treaty weakened the Balkan states by dividing them. Bulgaria was divided into three parts. Austria was given administration over Bosnia-Herzegovina, though the inhabitants were predominantly Slav. In 1885 the Bulgarians revolted against this arrangement and announced themselves united. Immediately they seized East Rumelia and added it to their possession.

A movement to reform Turkish institutions came to a head in 1908. Corruption and an absolute prohibition of any new ideas or improvements had reduced the old empire to almost the status of a primitive society. The young Turks, headed by Enver Bey and Mustafa Kemal, had progress as their watchword. Gaining control, they enforced the long suspended constitution of 1876 and sought to wipe out corruption. In 1909 they deposed Abdul Hamid II and set up a national assembly. In two more years they established a virtually military dictatorship. While Turkey was becoming nationalistic-minded herself, her possessions were again on the verge of war.

In 1908, while Turkey was occupied with her revolution, Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina which was under her protection. Serbia, infuriated by this annexation, almost declared war, but was restrained by Russia, which feared a general war. This intrusion by Austria set the stage for the overt act which later caused the World War.

While Turkey, dominated by the Young Turks, was involved in a war with Italy, the Balkan nations seized the opportunity to form a Balkan League, presenting a united front to Turkey. War resulted in 1912, the League emerging victorious. But dissatis-

faction over the division of the spoils soon led to quarrels among the Balkan nations. In 1913 Serbia, aided by Montenegro, Rumania and Greece, declared war on Bulgaria, and defeated her. Turkey joined the war against Bulgaria and recovered a small part of territory lost in the preceding year.

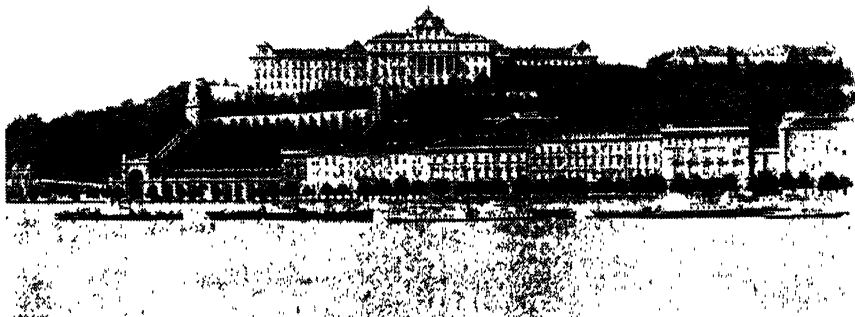
Thus by 1913 Turkey had completely disintegrated. But her internal reforms gave promise of making her once more powerful; and the friendliness of Germany, which sent officers to help the army, and otherwise showed willingness to aid, promised the New Turkey a place in the sun once more—certainly a place in the heart of European politics.

### *AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (1815-1914)*

Austria was the most powerful nation on the continent at the time of the Congress of Vienna; but by 1848 her power had been undermined by the rising tide of nationalism. The unification of Germany and Italy in the next generation dealt blows to her prestige and strength from which she never recovered. Austria was unable to join in the nationalistic movement and become a modern state, for the Hapsburg empire was not one nation, but several. The only means by which the empire could be maintained was by playing the several peoples one against another. Moreover, the state existed and expanded by the will of her aristocracy, not of her people, for accurately speaking Austria had no people. Austria-Hungary was not a nation, and no amount of propaganda could make her nationalistic.

The war with Germany in 1866 clearly illustrated this point. Germany was an intensely nationalistic and patriotic nation, and for that reason, as much as for any other, easily defeated the Hapsburgs. After the rout, Austria had to make concession to the rising nationalistic movements and in 1867 provided a new constitution. The empire was divided into two states under a single crown and certain other mutual agencies, such as army, diplomacy, and tariff. The constitution was a compromise, a living agreement between the two nations.

Internal troubles continued to plague the Dual Monarchy. Bohemia was desirous of getting the same place in the empire that Hungary had achieved, and her demands became so vociferous that



ROYAL PALACE, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

In 1867 the Austrian Empire was provided with a new constitution and divided into two confederated States, becoming Austria-Hungary.

Austria at various times seemed about to grant them. But the other nationalities of the empire, seeing the rise of Bohemia, protested bitterly, demanding like concessions. The minority races living in Bohemia also objected and the concession was never given. Other nationalities within the empire grew restless as they saw their hopes fade with the denial of Bohemia. Hungary, too, was plagued by internal groups which desired independence or autonomy within that half of the Dual Monarchy.

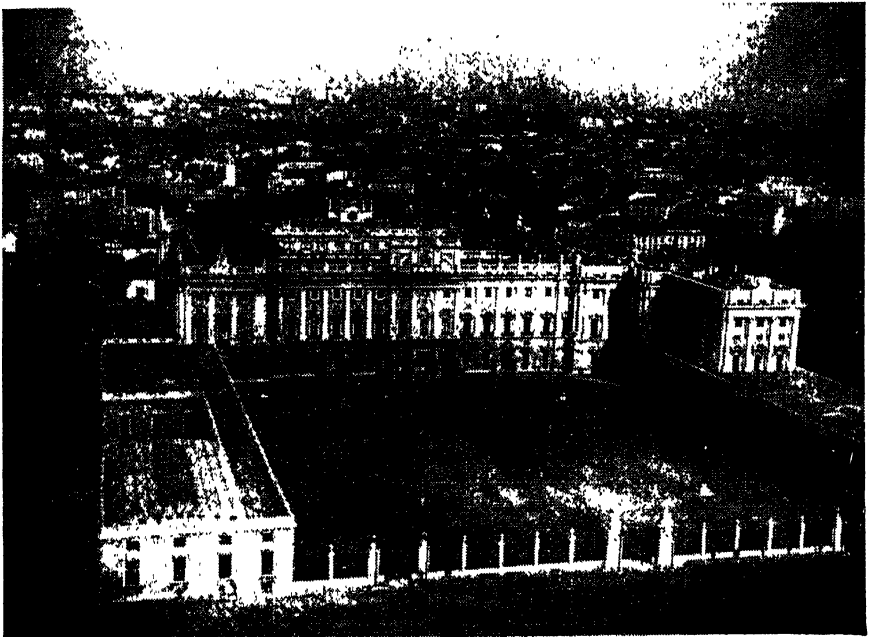
Yet Austria-Hungary still had interests in the Balkans, and here she came into direct conflict with Russia which was expanding into the peninsula from the opposite direction. In order to offset the power of Russia, Austria-Hungary formed an alliance with Germany in 1879.

At first retarded by the Russian alliance which formed part of Bismarck's policy, she had to wait until William II came to the throne. Then she became bolder in her opposition to Russia in the Balkans, and in 1908, by seizing Bosnia, created the first Bosnian crisis. Russia at this time was not ready for war, but the continued alliance and the continued foolhardiness of Austria indicated to the careful observer what the result must be.

*SPAIN*

Ferdinand VII was restored to the throne of Spain by the Congress of Vienna. A Bourbon, he was perhaps the most reactionary king of his time. In 1820 the Liberals rose against him, were put down, rose again three years later, and were defeated a second time. The succession to Ferdinand's throne was the next question to plague the country and cause the aristocracy to fight among themselves.

Ferdinand's daughter Isabella was the logical contender for the throne, but her uncle, Carlos, opposed her. Both had supporters, those of Carlos being called Carlists, and a series of wars resulted. From 1833, when Isabella began her reign under her mother's regency, until 1843, when the regent was forced to abdicate, violence reigned. Isabella continued to offend her courtiers and members of the aristocracy who finally forced her to flee in 1868.



AIR VIEW OF ROYAL PALACE AT MADRID

Again civil wars resulted, with a republic occasionally varying the dictatorships.

After the crown had been offered to a Hohenzollern in 1870, a gesture which served as an excuse for the Franco-Prussian War, Amadeo, younger son of Victor Emmanuel II of Italy, was called to the throne. His troubled reign lasted until 1873, when a republic was proclaimed. A military dictatorship soon took power, and recalled Alfonso XII, son of Isabella.

A parliament had been established in 1834, but it had little or no influence. Universal suffrage was established in 1890, but the people, illiterate and unschooled, had little real voice in the government. With the accession of Alfonso XIII (1902), some reforms were produced. Universal suffrage was made compulsory in 1907, and in the same year elementary education was established. Taxes were reduced, natural resources were exploited, and commerce began to prosper. But the country still remained backward when compared with the larger nations. Religious freedom was established in 1907. Thus Spain was beginning to rebuild at the outbreak of the war.

## PORTUGAL

The history of Portugal in this period is much like that of Spain. Civil wars and intrigues made the reign of Maria Christina II (1835-1853) a troubled one. The conflicting parties were the Regenerators and the Progressives, one the Conservative group and the other the Liberal group. A constitutional reform in 1852 enabled deputies to the parliament to be elected directly by the people.

Civil strife continued until 1910 when the monarchy was overthrown and a republic proclaimed. The incumbent king was Manoel II. The constitution that was set up provided for a popular body, which elected ministers who directed the country and were responsible to the Cortes, or parliament. Opposition aroused by the anti-clerical attitude of the republicans made the country once more the scene of strife until 1914. Entering the World War on the side of the Allies, Portugal played a comparatively minor role.

*BELGIUM*

Belgium became independent from the Netherlands in 1830, and set up a constitutional monarchy. Leopold I reigned during 1831-1865, a period of peaceful internal development. Commerce flourished, schools and railroads were built, and freedom of press and religion was established.

In 1865 Leopold II ascended the throne. Though there was little demand for reform, the constitution was revised to permit greater suffrage. Perhaps the most serious internal trouble was the sectionalism in the country. In the north were the Flemish (Dutch) who were more industrial and included more Protestants than the Walloons (French) of the south. A second issue was caused by the rise of the Socialist party and their suggested reforms, centering about education and opposing the aims of the Catholic Church. These issues were always peacefully settled. At no time did civil war break out—a tribute to Belgium in this period of revolution in most of the other countries of the world. Leopold's interest in the Congo region of Africa is discussed elsewhere.

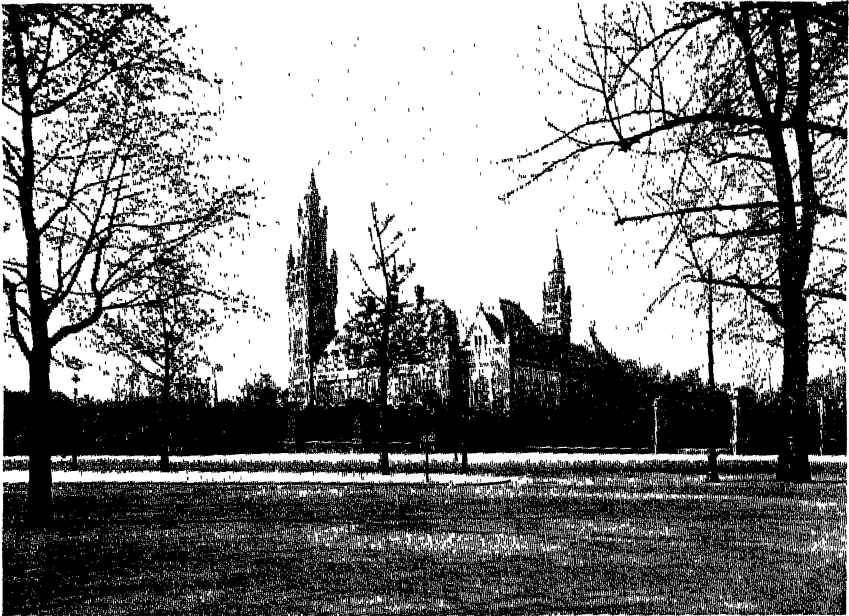
Albert I ascended the throne in 1909, and was king during the period of the war. Since Belgium lay between France and Germany, her neutral position was important. At the time of her separation from the Netherlands, this neutrality had been recognized and confirmed by the four Powers: England, Germany, France, and Russia. The invasion of Belgium, in violation of this neutrality, was one of the first acts of the World War.

*THE NETHERLANDS*

Holland remained during the nineteenth century one spot in the world where freedom and peace were paramount. Her schools, her citizenry, her accomplishments in the arts and sciences, were those of a free country.

In 1848 Holland revised the constitution which had been set up in 1815 by William I. The revision diminished the power of the king and elevated parliament. The country prospered under this reform, and no other major change was made until 1887 and 1896 when the suffrage was extended, and 1917 when it was made universal.





THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

The Hague, capital of neutral Holland, has been the meeting place of international peace conferences and the seat of the World Court.

The chief problem of the Dutch government was the administration of its great colonial empire, one of the most valuable in the world. Holland governed her colonies with an iron hand, and no troubles arose in these territories to harass the government at home. Continuing her policy of peace, Holland remained neutral during the World War.

## SWITZERLAND

In 1815 Switzerland was composed of a group of states with independent governments. The Swiss Confederation, as this group was called, was held together by the Pact of 1815. In this federation the separate states, or cantons, were dominant, making their own trade treaties. But by 1830, and during the next two decades, there began a series of revisions which unified the states. Opposition to the policy of union on the part of the *Sonderbund*, a group of Catholic cantons, resulted in civil war in 1847-1848. The outcome was the Constitution of 1848.



Franz Schneider photo, Lucerne

#### MORTERATSCH GLACIER, UPPER ENGADINE, SWITZERLAND

Under this constitution the Swiss nation became the most democratic in the world. The twin policies of the initiative and the referendum are the most striking examples of this fact. By the referendum, the Swiss legislature is compelled to submit any bills to the people for ratification. Under the initiative the people are allowed to submit their own bills to the legislature, which in turn must re-submit them to the people for ratification.

The neutrality of Switzerland, guaranteed by international agreement, has never been violated—at least, not by armed invasion.

### SCANDINAVIA

Norway belonged to Denmark at the opening of the Napoleonic wars. The Congress of Vienna, to punish Denmark for her aid to France, and to compensate Sweden for the loss of Finland, forced Norway to exchange rulers.

Denmark developed quietly after the Congress, her people attempting to regain some of the ground they had lost during the wars. The population remained more interested in economic than in political affairs until 1830, when a strong liberal movement compelled the king to resort to repressive measures. The liberal movement played a large part in the internal affairs of Denmark from that time until 1849, when Frederick VII granted a constitution. The next break in the peaceful growth of the country occurred over the Schleswig-Holstein question.

In 1864 Denmark was forced into a war against Austria and Prussia over the two duchies. To prosecute the war, King Christian IX had practically suspended the constitution and this aroused the opposition of the liberals and the radicals. These parties, gradually becoming more powerful, succeeded in passing many socialistic measures, climaxed, in 1891, by an old age pension act.

The constitution had been revised so that a two-house parliament was established, but the various kings, disdaining democratic methods, usually relied on the upper house. This system of constitutional abuse lasted until the World War.



ROYAL PALACE AT DROTTHINGHOLM, SWEDEN

Norway, the pawn passed from Denmark to Sweden, had asserted itself at that time, and at Eidsvold formed a constitution. The Norwegians asserted that the Danish king surrendered his authority by ceding Norway to Sweden. Therefore, when the king of Sweden sent his son into Norway to take possession, a war resulted. Though Norway was victorious, the intervention of foreign powers compelled her to accept union with Sweden, although each was allowed to retain its sovereignty.

Bernadotte, a general in Napoleon's army, had become king of Sweden in 1818. Under him important internal reforms, such as the reform of the educational system, were instituted. The accession of Oscar II in 1872, opened a new era in the domestic development of Sweden. He accomplished sweeping reforms, establishing a two-chambered parliament, on the modern scheme, and widening the suffrage. Friction over the problem of Norwegian independence again arose to plague the Swedish ministers. Finally, the Norwegian leaders called the prince of Denmark to be their king, and, after their action had been ratified in a popular referendum, they secured Sweden's grudging acceptance of separation in 1905.

### *RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

The Russian empire during most of the nineteenth century remained largely feudal in character. In this respect it was far behind the rest of Europe. Its industrial development did not take place till the latter part of the century, and despite large natural resources, never became very extensive. The country was ruled autocratically, the mass of people were illiterate, while a small landed aristocracy wielded much power and was checked only by the superior position of the tsar. This general backwardness was largely due to Russia's relative isolation. Geographically it was far removed from the cultural centers of Europe and not till late in its expansion did Russia acquire warm water seaports which would give easy communication with the rest of the world.

### *THE "NICHOLAS SYSTEM"*

The role of Tsar Alexander I at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 has been related. Though Alexander was liberal in his youth, Met-

ternich's influence led him to become more harsh and autocratic in later life. His successor, Nicholas I, who ruled from 1825 to 1855, was even more oppressive. He established what was called the "Nicholas System." All printed materials were subjected to a severe censorship to prevent the spread of liberal ideas. A thoroughgoing spy system made unguarded utterances or acts dangerous. Catholics, Jews, and other minority groups were persecuted, since the tsar was the head of the Greek Orthodox church and religious conformity was considered as important as national unity. A revolt of the Polish people in 1830 to regain national independence was ruthlessly suppressed and thereafter Russian administrators were installed in the Polish country. The defeat of Nicholas in the Crimean War at the hands of Turkey, France, and England, did much to weaken the prestige of tsarist autocracy, and demands for civil and military reform arose on all sides.



TSAR ALEXANDER II

Hence Alexander II (1855-1881) was forced to make concessions. He liberated the serfs, but their economic condition was not greatly improved. He also made other liberal advances. The cities in Russia were given councils, which, however, were only partially elected and had only limited powers. Representative bodies or *zemstvos* were established in rural communities. These had power to deal with such matters as roads, schools, and other local improvements. They had no influence on national policy, and the demand for a national representative body was denied. Yet, the *zemstvos* provided a valuable forum where liberal and radical leaders could give speeches to arouse the people from their lethargy. All these liberal reforms occurred early in Alexander II's reign. Later, the growth of unrest in Poland and in Russia proper

caused him to retrace his steps. He was killed by a bomb hurled at him while he was driving in his carriage.

### EARLY REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

During the middle of the century radical ideas gradually filtered into Russia from abroad. The opposition to autocracy centered mainly around the intellectuals and students, while the mass of people remained illiterate and ignorant. Most of the former were liberals, who desired peaceful reforms under a constitutional and limited monarchy. Some were extremists who demanded revolutionary action. Bakunin was a famous anarchist who advocated terrorism. The *V Narod*, or "Go to the People," movement was planned to arouse and liberate the people. Its adherents were mostly students, who employed any and all methods to gain their ends. The movement was smothered in blood and hundreds were exiled to Siberia.

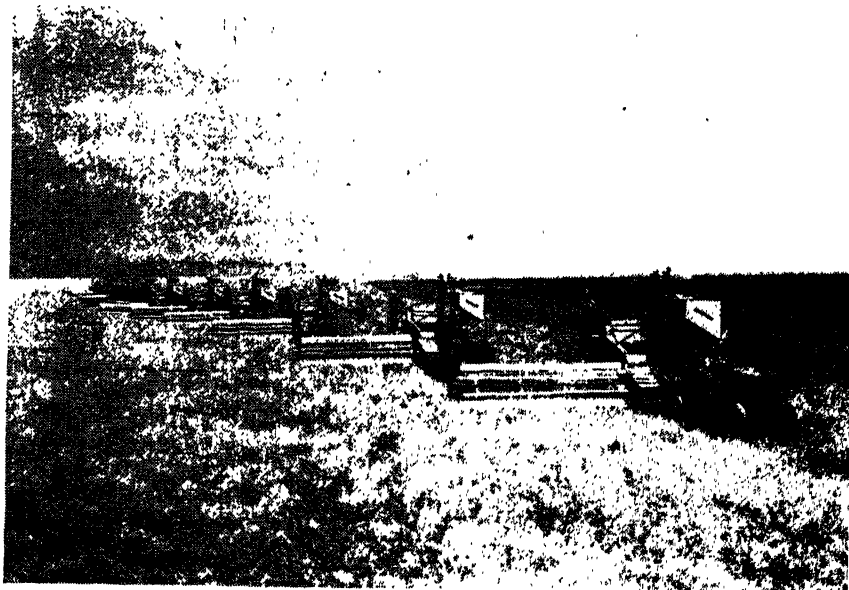
During the nineteenth century a group of Russian literary geniuses astonished the world by their masterful portrayal of Russian life and social conditions. The names and works of Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoi are typical of this group.

Alexander III (1881-1894) expressly denied all demands for reform. He introduced methods to secure the complete extermination of the revolutionists. Thousands were executed or sent to Siberia. The motto of this tsar was: "One Russia, one Creed, one Tsar." The "Russification" of all national minorities was undertaken. Jews were impoverished, maimed, and killed in *pogroms*. The hand of a corrupt and ruthless bureaucracy weighed heavily upon the entire people. The secret police became an effective tool in the seeking out of all kinds of opposition. Such was the internal condition of Russia which led to its defeat at the hands of Japan in 1904, and to the revolution of 1905, which was also called the dress rehearsal for the October Revolution of 1917.



Courtesy International Harvester Company

### THE OLD AGRICULTURE

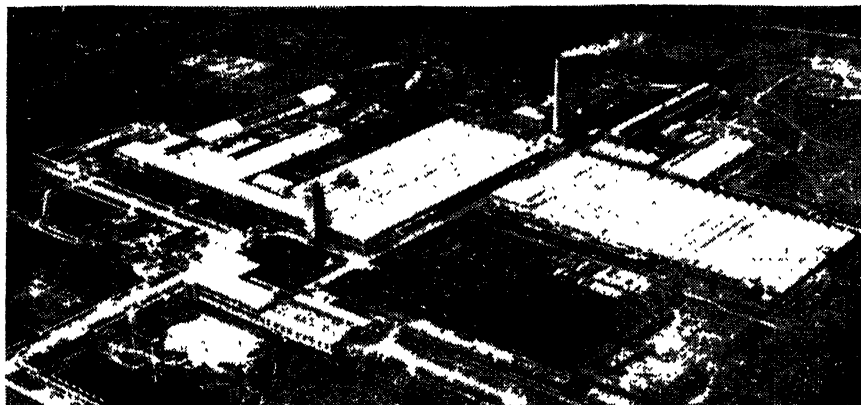


Courtesy International Harvester Company

### THE NEW AGRICULTURE

## PART II

# GROWTH OF THE MODERN ECONOMIC ORDER



Courtesy International Harvester Company

THE MODERN FACTORY

## AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL CHANGES

WITH THE CONQUEST OF NAPOLEON and the re-partition of his appropriated territories there arose among the victorious nations of Europe a system of thought and policy doomed from its inception because it failed to reckon with progress. Inaugurated and largely enforced by the efforts of the Austrian noble, Prince Metternich, it was the product of the aristocratic classes, an incarnation of their hopes, wishes, and memories. It was, in effect, an attempt to turn back the clock to the period before the Revolution.

The teachings of Voltaire were to be eliminated from the minds of men: liberty, equality, and fraternity were to become less than words or even memories. No longer were corpulent and well-dressed burghers to dictate the policies of nations or empires, or stir their bloodthirsty associates to fury. In Europe, the church was to assume its place again in the hearts of men—Protestant and Catholic alike.



Change was to be arrested forever. The *ancien régime* was to be restored and the nobles were to take command. Arrayed on their side were the armies of Europe and England. Their opponents were the manufacturers and traders with their allies, the common people. An old order was struggling, in the only way it knew, against its destiny. Its use of force was to prove inadequate against the onslaught of propaganda, science, and free thought—the weapons of the new liberalism.

The Revolution in France had been important for its intellectual, political and institutional results. Over the same period of time there had been occurring in England a less obvious and spectacular series of events which even more profoundly changed the course of human progress. Changes in agricultural and industrial methods, taking place over a period of years, and producing in their wake radical social and economic innovations, started the development of the modern state. These changes, initially unnoticeable and seemingly inconsequential, became prominent in England. It is convenient, therefore, to take England as the pattern of the modern state, and by outlining the steps through which she became industrialized, sketch also the ways in which industrial progress came to other countries.

### THE OLD AGRICULTURE

At Crécy and Poitiers in the Hundred Years War, the English yeomanry had fought bravely and well. As a reward for their loyal service these men had been given grants of land. Other serfs, less fortunate or more crafty, had, by working for years for small wages, managed to purchase their land from the lord of the manor and sometimes were given the legal title to the property. Still others had simply worked the same land for generations and had attached themselves and their families to the soil.

They had no expectation of ever leaving their homes, mean and dirty huts though they were. The yeomanry were, in a fashion, happy and contented. They usually had enough to eat, were clothed sufficiently well, and amused themselves with games and holidays and their own particular celebrations and festivals.

ENGLISH FARM-  
HOUSE IN SUSSEX

England was a predominantly agricultural nation until the latter part of the eighteenth century. The countryside is dotted with historic houses that date back hundreds of years.



Though they existed because they worked constantly, and were as far from an idyllic paradise as possible, yet their lot was far from unendurable.

As a leftover from the old manorial system, the typical farm of a great noble was divided into many small fields. The great bulk of the land was owned by the lord, while the strips were the property of his peasant neighbors. The great fields were cultivated *en masse*, with certain sections being allowed to lie fallow. Thus an area under cultivation presented a somewhat spotty appearance, with crops growing in certain places and bare fields in other sections. The process was wasteful of land and of effort as well; but for many decades the sight of strip-farming, as it was called, did not overly distress the great lord. Gradually, however, a series of changes in agricultural theory revealed to the lord just how he might increase his income by eliminating strip-farming.

## IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE

The wars in which England engaged during the period from 1660-1815 had seriously weakened her man power. Though they were fought as much as possible with the troops of other kingdoms, they took a sufficient amount of her population from productive activities to cause a food shortage. England imported as much food as possible but it was not enough, and moreover the

TYPICAL  
18TH CENTURY  
ENGLISH  
COTTAGES

Early in the century, England made attempts to increase farm production. Improved agricultural methods were the result.



English people highly resented paying for food that they felt they could have raised. There arose a sentiment for increasing farm production, and in answer to the demand innovations in planting and reaping, in breeding, and in methods of fertilization shortly evolved.

Lord Townshend, who as minister under George III aided in accelerating the American Revolution, spent a great deal of time at scientific farming, devising the system known as crop rotation, by which method each field was made to yield each year, instead of lying fallow once every three years. Lord Townshend was so vigorous in pushing the cultivation of turnips that he was called, by his irreverent friends, "Turnip" Townshend.

Robert Bakewell, observing that animals were raised primarily for such products as wool, hides, and milk and not for meat, began a series of experiments which shortly produced sheep, cattle and horses of superior quality. His breed of cattle called the "New Leicestershire" is still remembered, and so famous was his breed of sheep that he was given twelve hundred guineas for the services of a ram for one year. It is said that Jethro Tull made two blades of grass grow where one had grown before, through his invention of the drill. This was a planting device which, unlike the wasteful method of hand-sowing, spaced seed evenly and in rows. Another of his useful inventions was a hoe by which the ground could be well turned. In a different sphere, Arthur Young, a propagandist

for improved agricultural methods, succeeded in 1793 in his agitation for the establishment of an official Board of Agriculture, whose task was to encourage and assist progressive agriculture.

## *ENCLOSURES*

Under these circumstances farming rapidly became a business wherever it was possible to practice these new methods. Profits had been impossible under the old strip system of farming, with each man doing his own work and consuming all he produced; but, if some method could be found to consolidate the small fields under one owner and thus open the way to large-scale production, much money could be made. A speeding-up of the enclosure system was the logical solution of this problem.

Parliamentary acts providing for the enclosure of given strips of land were granted on petition of all the large landholders of a neighborhood, or, less rarely, with the consent of all the yeomen of a particular village. The passage of these acts was often obtained through the political influence of large landholders. When the act became a law, groups of commissioners examined the villagers' claims to their land, and, if they found these demands good, placed a valuation upon the property. Then, when the total area had been enclosed, the villager was assigned a solid block of land in that section. The process was filled with discrepancies, because for various reasons the bulk of the yeomanry were unable to produce titles to their land. Over a period of centuries the title may have been lost or perhaps there had been only an unwritten agreement or mutual understanding. In the majority of cases dispossession was swift. The ex-owners were simply turned adrift in the world, their one occupation and trade taken from them, their habits, customs, and lives disrupted.

## *THE DESERTED VILLAGE*

Penniless, with no means of support except manual labor, the dispossessed yeoman left the village where he had spent his life, and where he had expected that his family would spend theirs, and

wandered over England, seeking employment. Those few who managed to establish a title and achieve the position of competitor to the lord, found it impossible to meet the challenge of the new agricultural methods, and were easily bought out at the lord's price. In short the landed aristocracy, in order to increase its profits, appropriated by one means and another the land of their humble neighbors. Although agricultural productivity increased, large numbers of the English yeomanry were brought face to face with unemployment and starvation. The landowners grew rich. Crop production increased, and, although there was plenty, disease and starvation took an increasing toll among the landless poor. The contemporary poet, Oliver Goldsmith, wrote of the situation in enduring lines:

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.  
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;  
A breath can make them, as a breath has made.  
But a sturdy peasantry, their country's pride,  
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

The south of England, where there is the best land, at one time completely cultivated by the strip method, and dotted with small villages and clusters of homes, gradually became deserted. The enclosure movement was only one among numerous great changes occurring in England; the depopulation of half the land of the kingdom cannot be entirely attributed to it alone. Yet unquestionably the enclosure movement, producing as it did many social and cultural problems, and obviously marking the breakdown of feudal civilization, is a most important factor in the concentration of people in cities and the formation of a proletarian population.

It must be remembered that the so-called Agricultural Revolution is a term used to describe, not a sudden upheaval, but imperceptible changes which took place in England and other countries over a period of many years. And England did not entirely lose its rural appearance because of the enclosure movement, nor was the small farmer everywhere crowded out. Despite the

increase in the number of enclosure acts between 1750 and 1810, and the growth of the cities, even today much of England has a rural aspect.

### *UNSCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE IN THE GERMAN STATES AND FRANCE*

The tendency toward the concentration of population in cities in the eighteenth century was distinctly an English phenomenon. The nobles controlling France and Germany during the period were intent upon confining the peasantry to the soil. In the tangle of independent states which made up eighteenth-century Germany, a group of petty feudal princes and nobles held in check the peasants and commercial classes. Each state, in an attempt to gain as much as possible and also to discourage industry, built trade barriers. The few passable roads were well policed, and the merchant who attempted to carry goods along these routes was compelled to pay duties so many times that, if he added the accumulated taxes to the cost of his goods, he would find no market. If, on the other hand, he attempted to pay the taxes out of his own pocket, he found himself ruined. The same situation occurred along the rivers, and so, while there was commerce, it was only in the most necessary articles.

The great French nobles who still retained power under Louis XIV used force to keep their peasants bound to their land. The nobles managed their estates and raised their crops in the same unscientific fashion as they had for centuries. Under Colbert, minister for Louis XIV, French trade and industry made great strides, and the beginnings of a merchant class arose. This class was so small proportionally, however, that its influence was unfelt. Since France was still essentially a feudal state with the peasants unable to move about, the mobile supply of surplus labor necessary for industrial progress was lacking. The revolutionary movements in 1789 had swung the pendulum the other way, economically speaking, for the great estates of the nobles were confiscated and broken down into a great many small farms, upon which scientific methods of agriculture were impossible.

## FACTORS FAVORING ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

England, having undergone her Glorious Revolution in 1688, and having established class rule, was politically adapted to the arising order. The enclosure measures, for example, brought about by ruling-class pressure, could not have attained their sweeping results under the feudal system. Thus new economic developments greatly influenced political progress, as they had done before and were to do even more completely in the future.

By the end of the eighteenth century, England was the leading colonial and trading nation. From all over the world, cargoes came to England, there to be turned into manufactured articles or to be resold directly. The merchant class in England had been powerful for many years when Charles was restored to the throne in 1660, and that class has continued to grow in power until the present.

Mercantilism as an economic system was still in vogue at the opening of the eighteenth century. Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister of England from 1721-1742, was a confirmed mercantilist. Under him England prospered. Though his efforts were directed largely toward the improvement of internal trade, he did not neglect to sponsor foreign and colonial commerce. England was at that time undergoing an era of speculating in stocks. Companies formed to colonize various parts of the world were numerous, and the desire to possess their stocks and to trade in them seized a large share of the population. The most famous companies were the East India Company and the Muscovy Trading Company, organized in the age of Elizabeth. Later on, the Hudson's Bay Company and the South Sea Company were founded. These were only a few of the many organizations, some of which were in operation from the Elizabethan era until comparatively recent times. The Hudson's Bay Company is still in existence. From the methods used to organize the stock companies and from the profits they produced as well, came another impetus which put England well along the road to industrial organization.

Money was abundant, and people with great fortunes were numerous. England was not different in this from the rest of the



Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

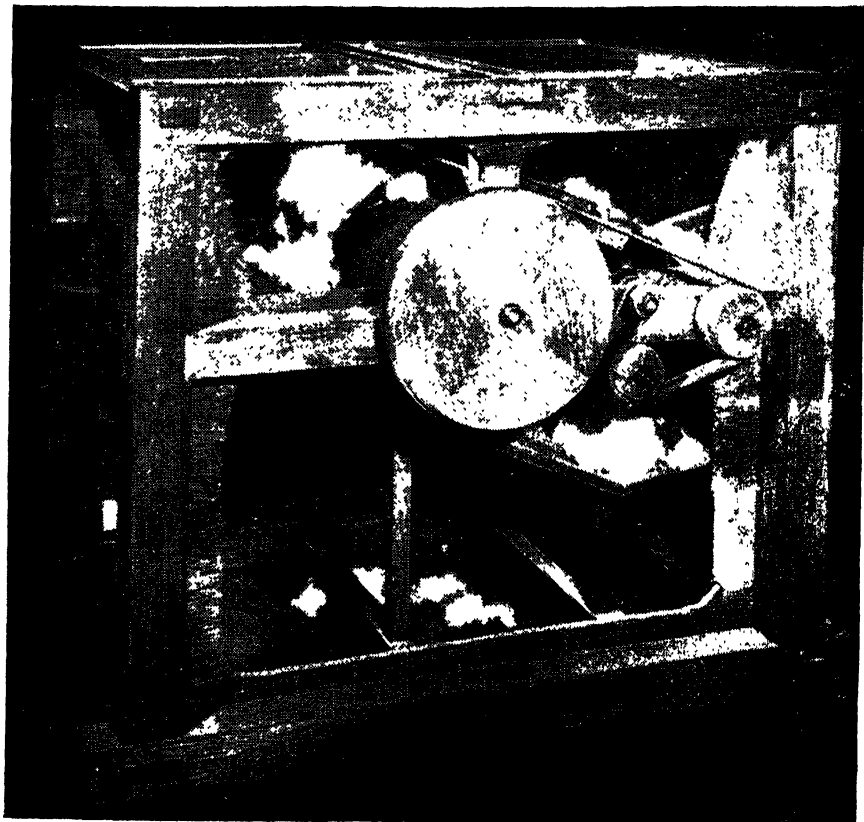
#### THE ROYAL EXCHANGE IN LONDON

world, but the fortunes of continental noblemen were derived largely from the land, while in England they were based on business and commerce. The idea of commerce as a fit occupation for gentlemen and aristocrats came far earlier in England than in the rest of Europe.

In countries other than England, capital was static. English banking houses developed early, offering a storehouse for surplus capital and a ready supply of funds for new ventures. With the growth of enterprise, insurance companies were organized, originally to protect shipping and later to underwrite almost anything capable of furnishing a premium.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that invention flourished. Capital was waiting to be put to work. With a sufficiency of labor to do the work at "reasonable" wages and with world markets for the goods produced, a new economic era was at hand.





Courtesy Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago

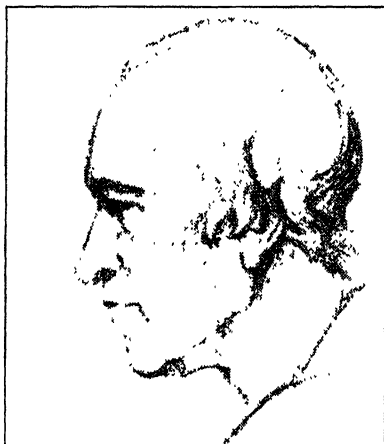
### ELI WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

Eli Whitney, a New England school-teacher, was visiting a plantation in Virginia in the summer of 1792 when he first became acquainted with the need of a ginning machine. Tradition has it that his host was bewailing the fact that it took more persons to separate the fibers from the seeds than it took to grow and harvest the cotton. Whitney is said to have perfected the machine pictured above within ten days after that conversation. As in the history of other inventions, his idea was stolen, and he received little personal benefit from his invention.

# INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND

## EARLY INVENTIONS

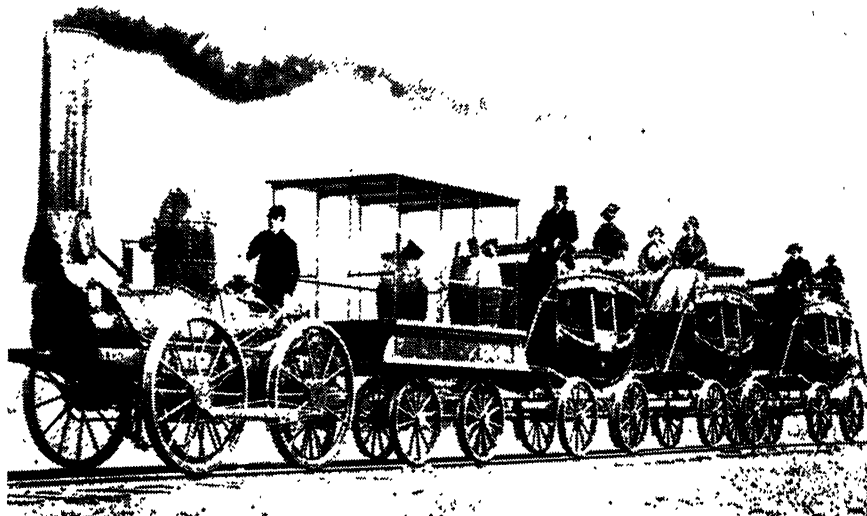
**B**ASICALLY, the Industrial Revolution consisted in the application of power to existing tools, and the consequent improvement and replacement of those instruments. Such a movement had been under way some time before the eighteenth century. In Flanders and parts of Holland, wind-power had been used for pumping water and for turning mills. Inventions tending to hasten production, or make it more efficient, were beginning to be adopted. The roots of the factory system, which is an integral part of the Industrial Revolution, were present. England received the benefit of these tendencies through the immigration of religious classes, such as the French Huguenots, and the Dutch Protestants, who left their own countries to escape persecution.



JAMES WATT

The series of inventions which produced modern industry were different from the previous great human discoveries. They were deliberate and planned, and were created to fill certain specific needs. The printing press had been invented by accident in the fifteenth century. Gunpowder was known for many years before it made essential changes in warfare. But in the modern age inventions are made to order. There occurs a lag in the industrial process, which, if removed, would profit someone. As the process is speeded up in one section, there comes a demand for an invention in some other field. The whole process of production, transportation, and distribution fits into an economic pattern. Changes made in one part effect changes in another part, and produce resulting innovations in society.

Perhaps of all the inventions in England during the early part of the Industrial Revolution, the steam engine was the most im-



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

#### ONE OF THE EARLIEST STEAM LOCOMOTIVES

The locomotive was one of the uses to which the steam engine was put. This basic invention was the most important one of the early Industrial Revolution period.

portant. It furnished power for factories, trains, and vessels. In the process of its development, it awakened the industries of metallurgy and mining. These new industries demanded that new techniques be found for cheaper and more efficient operation.

Long ago Hero, a Greek scientist in Egypt demonstrated the power of steam. But, other factors being lacking, it brought no change in production and disappeared for a while from history. A Frenchman, Denis Papin, modified the steam engine so that, by means of a long and complicated process, it would furnish power. An Englishman, Thomas Newcomen, produced a further modification of the machine which, with the addition of a boiler, was used widely.

Another Englishman, James Watt, however, really perfected the steam engine. With some scientific training and a native ability, he noticed the defects of the atmospheric pump, and rectified them. Where the old engines had required the cylinder to be heated and cooled with each revolution, Watt, by using the power of steam to force the cylinder back and forth, reduced the waste and inefficiency and adapted for the first time, in reality, the

power of steam. In 1769, Watt took out a patent for his new engine.

### *NEW METHODS IN IRON PRODUCTION*

It was not until a great deal of further invention and progress had taken place that the steam engine was practical. Methods had to be perfected whereby the machine could be constructed. With the old method of making and working steel, it was impossible to do any fine cutting or grinding such as is done today in lathework. It was impossible also to make castings of a sufficient size and hardness in any quantity. Ultra-fine work, as well as large castings, are indispensable to modern industry. Therefore, with the practicability of the steam engine demonstrated, new methods in metallurgy arose.

For centuries, iron had been smelted with charcoal. About 1620 a blacksmith named Dudley attempted to use coal, but since his methods were crude and his neighbors grew fearful that new processes would put them out of work, he was compelled to give up his efforts. But by the middle of the eighteenth century, coal and coke were being used. The effect of the heat was further increased by the invention of a new machine-bellows. Later, wrought iron was invented by Peter Onions and Henry Cort. This process, which resulted in strong iron, free of impurities, included the stirring or "puddling" of the molten iron, and the separation of the iron and the fuel. The puddling burned out most of the impurities by allowing air to come in contact with the metal.

Henry Cort, who had been purchasing agent for the British Navy, invented a method for making steel plates. With the aid of Purnell, he arranged a series of rolls through which the almost molten metal could pass, and thus be made as thin or as thick as desired. Earlier plates had been hammered out by a process so expensive and tedious that it would have greatly hampered the progress of the Industrial Revolution.

The acceleration given to the coal industry by the increased use of coal in steam and smelting, caused new methods to be developed in mining. The steam-engine was used to pump water out of the mines and to hoist coal to the surface. In 1815, Sir Hum-

phry Davy invented the invaluable miner's lamp which greatly lessened the danger of explosion below ground.

### *GROWTH OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY*

Slightly prior to the advances made in the iron and mining industries were the developments in the textile industry. In this field arose many of the distinctive factors of what is known today as modern industry, and it is desirable therefore, to discuss these changes in some detail.

About the end of the eighteenth century in England there was a great demand for the gaily colored cloth known as calico. It had been imported from India, but so popular was it that the woolen manufacturers protested. Laws were passed prohibiting the wearing of calico, but laws could not eliminate the demand. From 1721, the date on which the Calico Act was passed, the cotton industry became one of the most important in England. By 1735, the industry had become so strong that it secured from Parliament the repeal of the law against the wearing of calico, provided that a certain amount of linen or wool be combined with the cotton.

In America a young man named Eli Whitney, visiting at the plantation of a friend, was told of the planters' predicaments. They could sell more cotton if it could be prepared more quickly for market. The big drawback was the amount of seeds which had to be pulled from the bolls by hand. Whitney, with this difficulty in mind, perfected the cotton gin which solved the problem, thus giving new life to the institution of slave labor on cotton plantations. It might be said that Whitney, by making possible the production of cotton on such a large scale, laid the groundwork for the Civil War in the United States. At any rate, English mills eagerly snatched at this new source of raw material, and began to flood the world with cotton goods.

### *THE FACTORY SYSTEM*

The modern factory system also developed from the textile industry. From the middle of the fifteenth century, the old system of handicraft and guilds had been breaking down because of the rising demand which they were unable to meet. There had

arisen in their place a system of manufacture which was called the putting-out system.

Briefly, the putting-out system was merely the distribution of raw materials to people who worked at home in the intervals between working in the fields. The middleman furnished the raw materials and the workers furnished the tools. At certain times, the middleman would come around and collect the finished product and pay the workers. It was a simple system, and easy on the laborer, for it allowed him to choose his own hours and work as much or as little as he pleased. It kept him with his family, he could cultivate his crops, and his personal freedom was unrestricted.

When the demand for cotton goods and other textiles made itself felt, capitalism invaded the textile industry in full force. In its train came a host of inventions which shortly concentrated the workers in factories, took them from their families, and placed a premium not on any mental qualification but only on physical fitness.

Their sons were as well-fitted as they for factory work; and their wives soon found themselves with a certain number of cotton spindles to watch.

A weaver named Hargreaves was responsible in a great measure for the new methods in textile manufacture. He saw that a fortune awaited the man who could increase the amount of cotton yarn produced, and he proceeded to find a way. His invention, called the spinning jenny, consisting of a number of spindles run by one wheel, vastly increased the amount of yarn produced. It furnished more raw material to the weavers and makers of cotton goods. He had arrived at the idea, it is said, by watching his wife's spinning wheel, which had fallen upon its side while the wheel continued to spin around. The spinning jenny considerably increased the production of yarn. It soon became evident that the isolated weavers made but insufficient progress and that some more efficient method would have to be found to eliminate the lag in production. This realization was hastened by the invention of Arkwright's "water-frame" in 1769, a water-powered machine which spun even faster than did Hargreaves' jenny.

Arkwright was a new type in the economic world, the forerunner of the modern captain of industry. He became wealthy through the use of the water-frame, which he had taken over from its real inventor, financed, and made practical. His invention was too bulky and expensive to be used by any single merchant; so Arkwright, forming a company, set up his machine and started a factory. He is probably better known for his methods of business organization than for his invention. To him is given the credit for establishing the first disciplinary code governing factory workers.

### *THE FACTORY CITY EMERGES*

Emphasis was now shifting from the primitive home manufacturing system to the complex factory organization. It was called forth, as we have seen, by improvements in machinery and methods of distribution. Some sort of factories had existed even before the Industrial Revolution. The yeomen, driven from their land and slowly gathering in the towns, were forced to seek some means of employment. Enterprising men quickly assembled them in groups. Using the tools and implements of the owner, they worked by hand to produce such materials as they could, and for which there was a sufficient demand. With the use of machinery came the necessity for the location of factories near water-power and where raw materials were available. Thus the factory town grew up in England. These communities, built for economic reasons solely, were for the most part ugly and poorly planned.

The homes to which the workers came were scarcely huts. They had been hastily erected, like those in the "boom towns" of western America, and with no thought of convenience or comfort. Windows opening on narrow, twisted streets and admitting the sooty and foul air from the factories' machinery; floors of dirt; few rooms, and those low, dim, and crowded—such was the home of the factory worker. He left it at dawn for his work. His wife and children went with him, and often they went without breakfast. The average time in the factory was from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, with half an hour in the middle of the period for a meal.



CERRIG CENNEN CASTLE, LLAMFILO, WALES

This castle presents a striking contrast to the life led by the men, women, and children who toiled in the dismal caverns of Welsh coal mines.

### "A WOMAN'S WORK"

The worker was not allowed to talk in most factories, or to sing, or whistle. He must keep his machine tended at all times. He must not look out the windows, or keep his light on in the morning after there was sufficient daylight to see. He was in continual danger of being killed or maimed by the machinery about him, for there were no protective devices. If he was hurt, he was simply cast aside. Only if he could prove that his employer was entirely responsible for the accident did he have any legal redress; then his compensation was very little. His children were subject to the same restrictions. Thus, since women and children could do the work as well, and cost less to hire than men, child and female labor in factories soon came to be the order of the day.

There are records, gruesome in the extreme, of the tasks to which children were set. They began work in the factory or mine at the age of seven or eight and perhaps younger. They, too,



worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day and received perhaps eighty cents or a dollar for a week's work. Their mothers were helpless to protest, or even keep them from labor, for women's position in the social and economic world of the period was one of virtual enslavement.

Besides the terrible working conditions, and the low rate of pay, a woman was always at the mercy of her employer, and vice and immorality were prevalent within the factory. Compelled to submit to the meanest factory foreman; separated from their children; worked to such lengths that nervous and physical exhaustion were inevitable, it is small wonder that women lost their rôle as home-makers.

### *VICTIMS OF INDUSTRY*

Crowded together in the newly-erected cities in the north of England, thousands of the working people were killed by disease. Tuberculosis, a malady from which they had been free as farmers, afflicted the working population. Malnutrition left them in a wretched physical condition, an easy prey to every type of disease. Almost too tired to work, but not exhausted enough to die, the masses lived a colorless, drab life, hardly above the level of beasts. Social diseases became rampant, and since alcohol has always furnished surcease from worldly cares, drunkenness and its accompanying evils increased. The use of spirits expanded, whiskey and gin taking the place of the once-customary ale and beer.

Considering these facts, we can understand why the old institutions broke down. A father could offer little in the way of advice, example, or financial aid to his children, for they worked as long as he did and earned their own wages, and consequently were scornful of his authority. The influence of motherhood could not be felt, for mother and child were separated during the most important formative years. There was no place for religion in the crowded life of the working man, and the Church and its ministers lost what influence they possessed. There was no time to devote to learning or cultural pursuits. Physically and mentally the working man became corrupted. His family became disor-

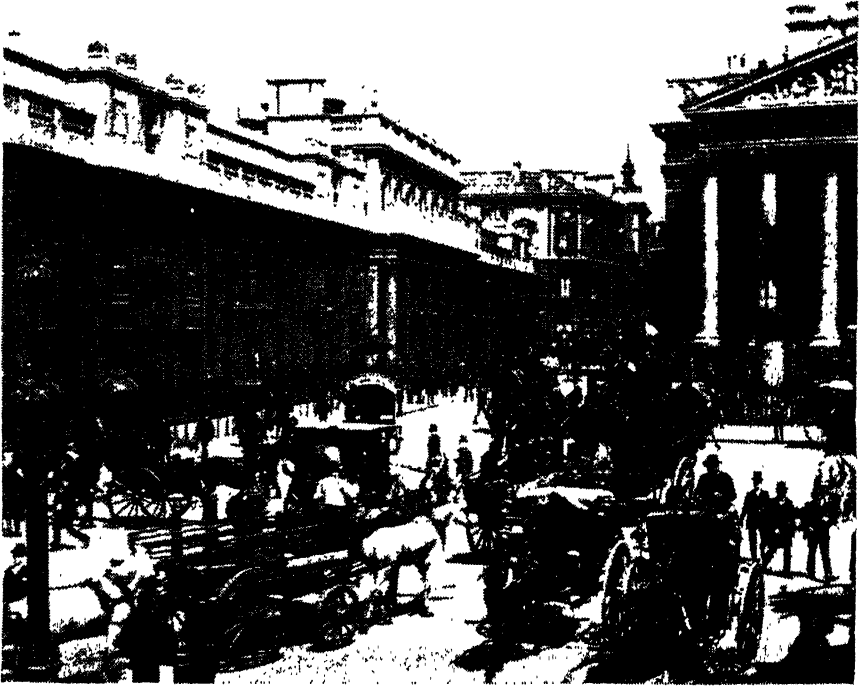
ganized; his conceptions of duty, virtue, love, and loyalty became confused.

Such was the effect of the Industrial Revolution upon England, and, when it came later to other countries, upon them. Capital and labor, united by invention, and called into union by a great demand, utterly transformed the society of the Western world. That society, transformed, proceeded to carry its civilization throughout the world.

Invention and improvement went on at a startling pace in all industrial fields, given the impetus by the early changes made in the basic industries. It is impossible to do more than summarize briefly the most important improvements and their broad effects upon society.

We have seen how changes were made in the methods of spinning, which speeded up the manufacture of textiles. The weaving process was next speeded up; then improvements took place in the dyeing industry. The rise of steam to the supreme place in the power field necessitated improved methods and growth in the steel industry in order to provide its engines and tools. Steel was improved by the introduction of air blasts into the metal, and the use of coal as a fuel greatly facilitated the methods of working in metal. The mining industry, in order to share the profits accruing from mechanization and large-scale organization, improved itself, causing resulting changes in handicraft in other industries. To distribute the finished materials, roads had to be built and improved, for although England had depended in the past largely on water transportation for her internal trade, she now had such a volume of produce, needing to be moved quickly, that faster methods were imperative. The railroad and the steamship were invented and perfected to fill this need.

Every invention useful to industry brought forth a succeeding one. Each caused a dislocation and rearrangement of society. Since life and industry are inseparable, a change in one affects the other. As the wheels of the factories turned, meshing into the gears and wheels of the whole industrial fabric, life in England, both economically and socially, was accelerated.



### NINETEENTH CENTURY LONDON

Profound changes took place in English history during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the early half of the nineteenth. The growth of the factory system brought laborers from the farms of the English countryside to the city where there seemed to be better opportunities to make a living. As English manufacturers took advantage of the world-wide market for their goods, so did their problems of commerce come to dominate English politics. Thus London, the home of Parliament, became the nerve-center of the economic politics of the manufacturing and merchant class. During this period, too, there came a profound change in leadership of England. No longer were the country lords, squires, and bishops the dominating personalities of politics, but rather business men and tradesmen. When some of these prosperous business men were given titles of nobility it became evident that the English people recognized the change that had come in their politics.

# INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL SUPREMACY OF THE ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASS

## CAPITALISTS AND LABORERS

ONE OF THE CHIEF EFFECTS of the Industrial Revolution was the rapid development of two social castes or classes, based upon their relative positions in industrial and commercial activities. The middle class, which had undergone a long period of development, found its growth to a position of prominence accelerated by the Industrial Revolution. Merchants, bankers, and factory owners were leaders in this group. Their functions in the new industrial order were many. They built factories, furnished machines, financed enterprises, and sold a multitude of products. The second group essential to industrial production was the mass of laborers, or proletariat. Laborers were dependent upon the middle class for employment, and received wages as their reward. The middle class engaged with the old aristocracy in a struggle for power, and the laborers found it necessary to struggle against both the middle class and the aristocracy.



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WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

By the end of the Napoleonic period, the middle class was strong in England. The wars had brought profits which could be used to purchase position and power. The slowly dying aristocracy was still in control of government and inclined to direct state affairs so as to perpetuate its supremacy. Industrialists challenged its position successfully in the nineteenth century. The growth of industry in other countries, together with the gradual decline

of agriculture, set in motion the same type of social and political movements that evolved in England. The struggles of the decaying aristocracy to maintain its political power against the middle classes furnished the broad theme of nineteenth-century European economic history.

The proletariat, or laborers, had little influence in the industrial order. These "slaves of the machine" were hardly conscious of their potential strength, and struggled against a domination which denied them the essential comforts of life. Nevertheless, they did take measures which directed attention to their problems. Observing the increasing trend toward the factory system and multiplication of inventions, workers everywhere violently opposed these tendencies. Each early invention was literally fought by the men who saw their occupations taken from them by machines. Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning jenny, was forced to defend himself and his machine against an infuriated mob. The first English steamboat, developed by William Symington in 1802, was sabotaged by irate workers. The enclosure measures were carried out in many cases with the aid of the military. These unorganized acts of violence, unable to restrain the tide of industrialism, soon gave way to more effective methods.

### *TRADE UNIONISM CRUSHED*

Trade unions came early to England, and were as soon quashed. At the very turn of the eighteenth century industrialists and landowners became so alarmed at the labor movement that they forced Parliament to pass the so-called "Combination Acts." The wars which England was fighting at that period made it easy to call unions disloyal, if not seditious. These acts (1799-1800) provided that, "for the better well-being of the nation" combinations in restraint of trade should be forbidden. No group could hold meetings to discuss collective bargaining. Strikes were prohibited, for striking was obvious proof of conspiracy.

The Combination Acts were intended to apply, also, to the industrial class. The theory was never transferred into practice, for combinations of manufacturers in restraint of trade flourished.

The severe enforcing of these restrictive measures, together with supplementary acts which further hampered the gatherings of workers, effectually prevented any sort of labor movement in England until late in the nineteenth century. The proletariat being vanquished, the middle class and the aristocracy, which was largely composed of landholders, could turn attention to their own private conflicting interests.

### MERCANTILISM CHALLENGED

The rise to power of the middle classes is a fascinating story. They became so powerful economically that their influence in social and political matters was inevitable. After gaining power over industry and labor, the next logical course was control of Parliament. The first step in the process was the substitution of the theory of free enterprise for the old mercantile theory of economic self-sufficiency and government subsidy, to which the landlords of England still clung tenaciously.

Under the eighteenth-century interpretation of this system, internal and foreign trade were regulated for the good of the nation as a whole. In order to keep out a commodity which it was thought desirable to produce within its borders, a nation resorted to the use of tariffs on imported goods which raised their price so high that no one could afford to buy them. Within the country, bounties were offered to people who would produce the excluded commodity. We have seen how this worked in the case of calico. The most serious defect in the practice of mercantilism was that it cut off a supply of some of the necessary raw materials. Forced to great lengths by this situation, the affected classes—which meant the middle classes—set up an agitation for the abolition of this doctrine.

### ADAM SMITH AND LAISSEZ FAIRE

They advanced an opposing theory of their own, which was far reaching in its effects and implications. This theory was called "free trade," or to use the French name by which it is equally well

known, laissez faire, which means "let alone." Its chief exponent, Adam Smith, later known as the father of political economy, expounded this theory in the classic *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.

Adam Smith was born in Scotland in 1723, and devoted his life to literature and study. After some years of training and post-graduate work, he became professor of logic at Edinburgh. He wrote several volumes which deal with philosophy, and was noted for his brilliant prose style as well as for the independent thought contained in his books. It was not until 1776 that Smith published his famous *Wealth of Nations*, after having spent years in its preparation. Dealing exhaustively with social and political problems, it propounded a new theory of economic and national policy.

Fundamentally the book extends the doctrines of the mercantilists, which declared that the preparation of the state for war was one of the most important functions of a government. But where they had declared that gold, which represented purchasing power, was the chief means to economic domination, Smith declared that consumable goods, or manufactured articles, were most important, for they could be exchanged at any time for gold which in turn could be exchanged for goods. Thus the acquisition of gold became a secondary interest, and the emphasis was shifted to the production of consumable goods as the chief aim of national economy. Trade, industry, and agriculture, Smith argued, interlocked to form an organic whole. If left alone, these various forms

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INTRODUCTION AND PLAN OF THE WORK.

THE annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always, either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations.

ACCORDING therefore, to this principle, or what is purchased with it, bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it, the nation will be better or worse supplied with all the necessaries and conveniences for which it has occasion.

BUT this proportion must in every nation be regulated by two different circumstances: first, by the skill, dexterity and judgment with  
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TITLE PAGE OF ADAM SMITH'S  
"WEALTH OF NATIONS"

of production would seek channels automatically, "as though an Invisible Hand were guiding them," and each man by an appropriate display of industry could secure his just share of worldly goods. Therefore, the government was to keep out of business. By natural law, each man was allowed the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and interference with them was akin to interference with the Almighty. Thus the doctrines of free competition, self-interest, and natural law are the chief points in his theory; with the emphasis placed on capital as the basis of wealth. It is important to note here that Smith referred to the capitalist as the chief organizer of capital. He was the man with the means of production, who saw opportunities and was able to take advantage of them. The laborer was simply a part of the manufacturing process, a part of the raw materials, whose purchase price, or wage, was included in the cost of the finished material.

These revolutionary doctrines were eagerly adopted by the rising industrial class. These were the very theories industrialists had been seeking. They could now oppose to the impassioned, liberal, humanitarian orations of Edmund Burke, the choice phrases of Smith, or answer a question in debate with a detailed quotation concerning the making of a pin by piecework. The average middle-class industrialist was glad to have at his command such a phraseology, and the logic of the theory appealed to his mind.

Enlightened self-interest became the order of the day. It was preached in the schools and in homes, as the rising tide of industrialism moved upon the weakened bulwark of English aristocracy. A new nation was arising in America, governed by a constitution which was gradually interpreted to follow the theories developed by Smith. After the defeat of Napoleon, France and Germany also produced industrial middle classes.

Attempts to restrain these forces and to turn back the course of history, or to crush the wealthy and powerful new middle class, inevitably failed. Events had moved too swiftly and too steadily to remain under Metternich's control. His system of thought



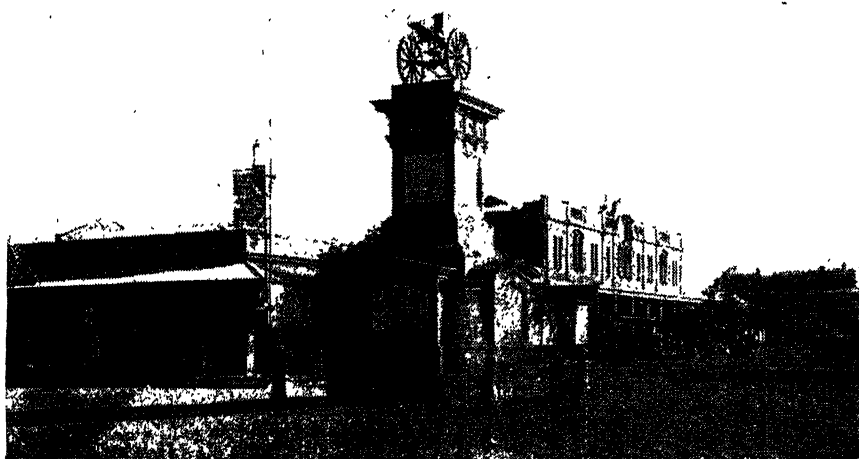
was as antiquated as the pyramids, and all the soldiers of Europe could not impress it upon the rising class. Time would not stand still, nor progress cease.

### *MIDDLE CLASS IN POWER*

The history of Europe after the fall of Napoleon is the rise to power of the middle class in different countries and the lengths to which they were forced in order to maintain their power. The wars and revolutions of this period arose directly from the struggle of the middle classes for recognition. They soon won the support of the most influential groups, the clergy and the intellectual classes, and through them gained the adherence of many people not of the middle class economically. Propaganda played a large part in the middle class revolutions of the period.

Throughout the nineteenth century England maintained its lead in the race for industrialization. English goods were purchased by the whole world, and the profits from this trade were invested abroad by English capitalists. America, for example, was largely financed by British money in its industrial development. American railroads, steel mills, canals, ships, and factories were made possible by English capital; and much the same procedure took place during the industrial development of France and Germany. The whole world became a profitable field for English investment.

The flaw in the British system was obvious. As soon as industry became established in other countries, a powerful middle class would rise and eventually compete with British capital all over the world. This competition was one cause of war during the industrial age, and finally culminated in the great World War. Industrialism bred imperialism, which meant the extension of a nation's control over territory beyond its own geographical limits. This expansion is necessary because a capitalist country must have cheap raw materials, as well as markets in which to sell finished goods. For example, an Englishman who had negotiated a treaty with a Chinese diplomat, commented: "This is a fine stroke of business for England, for, if we can persuade only half your pop-



Courtesy Union of South Africa

#### STREET SCENE IN BULAWAYO, RHODESIA

English capital and initiative extended the rule of the empire to all parts of the world, including far-off Africa.

ulation to lengthen the tails of their garments one inch, it would keep the cotton mills of England running five hundred years to supply the demand." The Chinese looked at him sleepily, and casually replied, "But most of the population have no garments."

#### MIDDLE CLASS REVOLTS AGAINST ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY

The English middle class became powerful enough to command a political majority in 1832, an important date in history. In order to understand this triumph, it is necessary to go back in time to the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815.

The surrender of Napoleon seriously affected British industry, for it had become accustomed to produce great quantities of military and other supplies. England, to a large extent, had supplied the other belligerent countries with materials, and the loss of these markets was a serious commercial blow. The return of 400,000 soldiers to the ranks of civil life added to the numbers of unemployed. A depression resulted. Starvation and business failures mounted tremendously, although English warehouses were filled

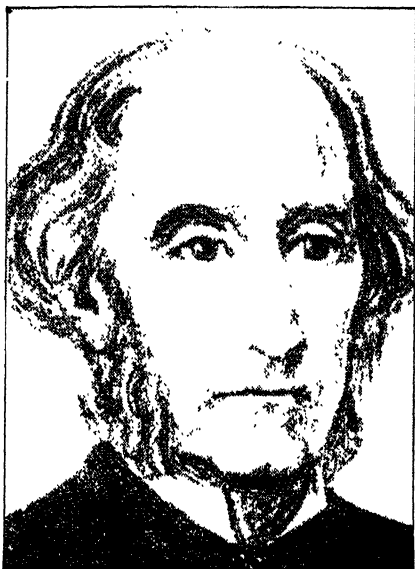
with goods ready to be sold, and other European countries had great quantities of grain.

Parliament was controlled by Tory landholders. In an effort to profit from the situation, they increased the tariffs upon imported grain, attempting to monopolize the home market for themselves. Since this legislation directly affected the laboring classes, and was in violent opposition to the doctrines of Adam Smith, the masses and the middle class were infuriated. Parliament did not attempt any legislation which might have benefited the manufacturing class. This group had been drawing money from all of Europe for a long period of time, and the other nations were exhausted. If these countries could have found a market for their farm produce in England, they might have accumulated enough capital to allow them to buy English manufactured goods; but the Tory Parliament refused to co-operate with this international conception of commodity exchange.

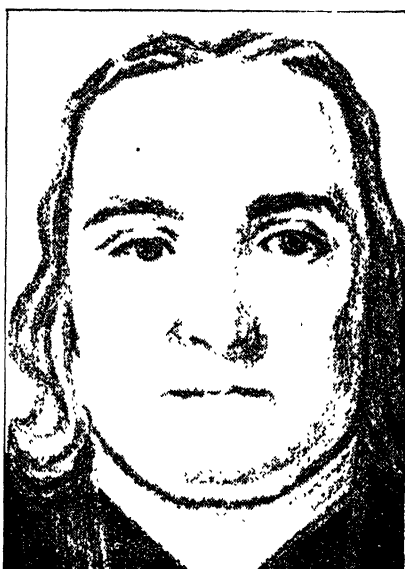
Therefore, they aroused the bitter opposition of the middle classes, who saw themselves becoming bankrupt because of the greed of an old entrenched group. As it became apparent that Parliament intended to do nothing for them, the middle class commenced an agitation which they hoped would achieve their end, in spite of parliamentary indifference.

Led by a little group of intellectuals who ceaselessly wrote and argued for political and economic reform, the movement quickly sprang into prominence. Leaders in the group were James Mill, the father of the economist and philosopher; the journalist William Cobbett, and the philosopher Jeremy Bentham. Their chief point of attack was the parliamentary system. A reasonable Parliament, they argued, operating on sound businesslike principles, could quickly pass legislation of a nature that would free trade from its artificial barriers, and end forever the economic miseries of the nation.

They told the populace that a reasonable Parliament would not refuse to admit cheap grain, which would mean an end to starvation. By this means, they managed to gain the support of the working classes, who might provide excellent shock troops in case of a rebellion. They also insinuated that many of the evils of the factory system could be eliminated by law; and intimated that



JOHN STUART MILL.



JEREMY BENTHAM

reform, which would give the factory owners control of Parliament, would immediately better the working conditions of labor. This point of view was quickly adopted by several men who were sympathetic with the intolerable condition of the working man, and they became an important additional force to the agitation for reform. Their support allowed the factory owners, for example, to accuse the Tories of cruel and inhuman conduct and motives; to cry to Heaven at their greed; and, in general, to raise against them the finger of righteous scorn and indignation. In fact universal popular opinion soon became aroused against the conservative Tory program.

A riot broke out in London in 1816 when a crowd, inflamed by speakers, committed acts of violence. Immediately the Tories seized upon this as cause for action. They suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, which provided that persons arrested should be charged and brought to trial immediately. The Sedition Act was revised to include all meetings, even those of a literary and scientific nature.

Opposition only stirred the middle classes to increased fury. Juries refused to convict under the Sedition Act, and meetings

were held despite the law against them. Many of the larger manufacturers were fearful of this "radical" movement, though they approved the ends toward which it was directed, and they refused to support it. They imagined that such action would lead to anarchy, or at least a "reign of terror," in which they would be the chief, though unfortunate, participants. Despite their attitude, the movement continued to gain power, and became very threatening. The military proved useless against it. It was, however, repressed for a time by the passage of the Six Acts in 1819. These limited the freedom of the press, forbade civilian military training, and made the libel laws and penalties more stringent. Under the measures, the more vehement leaders were imprisoned, and the movement lost much of its violent nature. The reformers were forced to find new channels in which to continue their agitation.

Failure of the grain crop in 1826 forced the Tory Parliament to allow the importation of foodstuffs. This allowed the laborers to buy food more cheaply, and proved to them that the cost of food was too high. The Tories were forced to revise their Corn Laws on a more liberal plan.

### *PARLIAMENTARY REFORM*

By 1830 the majority of the English people had been convinced that parliamentary reform was necessary. They would have refused to support the Tories in a popular election, but by means of the "rotten borough" system they were not given the chance. The "rotten boroughs" were deserted districts, whose right to elect a member of Parliament had never been revoked, for obvious reasons, for the landlords controlled them, and through them, the whole country.

In 1832 popular agitation had reached such lengths that the Reform Bill, which included many other provisions than the redistribution of representation, was forced through the Parliament. It was held up in the House of Lords in a last despairing gesture on the part of the old regime. When William IV, recognizing the favorable popular demand, threatened to force passage of the bill by the creation of new peers, the Tories saw that further resistance

was useless. The measure passed, and the middle classes came into partnership with the aristocracy in political power.

The act modified the political system in three ways. The rotten boroughs were eliminated, and their votes given to the large cities. The conduct of elections was improved and made less expensive by the limiting of the voting period and the adoption of a new system of registration. People whose rent amounted to ten pounds a year or more, or who lived in tenements worth fifty pounds, were allowed to vote. Nevertheless, universal popular suffrage was far in the future.

### LABOR REFORM

The wave of reform sentiment awakened in England was not to die with the mere passage of the Reform Bill. The factory owners were compelled to pass in 1833 a bill which did away with the worst features of child labor. This measure was largely the work of Robert Owen, a "utopian" socialist.

Owen had started as a laborer and had risen to the ownership of a factory by hard work and the display of considerable intelligence. Unlike the majority of his associates, he was interested in reforms because he knew from experience the conditions in factories. There was a strong economic motive in his reforms, for he had demonstrated in his own factory, that children accomplished as much work, if not more, when they were allowed to rest and have shorter hours, without being driven by harsh overseers. The law applied to textile plants alone, and, while it indicated a tendency, child labor was by no means eliminated.

Parliament continued to be besieged by people bent on industrial reform. In 1834 the Poor Law was altered, to bring it up to date from the time of Elizabeth. Many employers, taking advantage of the antiquated system, made their wages so small that laborers were compelled to seek the shelter of the Poor Law. Such a policy reduced payrolls, but it increased taxes correspondingly. The taxpayers protested, as did also the Tories and the smaller manufacturers who could not compete with cheap labor.

## CHARTISM

The reforms of the period were largely beneficial to the middle class. The proletariat was little benefited by any of the measures, and, despite the glowing promises of orators and middle class propagandists, they began to feel that their lot was being overlooked. Hence arose the Chartist agitation, which was decidedly a proletarian and lower middle-class movement. It took its name from the "People's Charter," which, so its supporters said, followed in the line of political development begun with the Magna Charta, whose bill of rights had benefited the landlords. The political rights of the industrial class were safeguarded in the Reform Bill of 1832. It was but natural that British workingmen should demand their rights, among which were universal suffrage, annual election of Parliament, and the removal of property qualifications for members of that body.

The Chartist movement was well under way by 1838, and though opposed by all the higher classes, caused a great disturbance in the English life of the period. Its representatives visited all the large towns, where they held demonstrations calculated to arouse the working classes and make them active participants in the Chartist cause. The middle classes feared that the occasional acts of violence would develop into something more dangerous, and so the power of the army was invoked. However the Chartist movement, because of internal dissension, soon suppressed itself. Thereafter, the working classes, lulled by more or less improved economic conditions, made few outbursts.

## REPEAL OF CORN LAWS

One other economic goal, the repeal of the Corn Laws, remained for the middle classes to achieve. This last vestige of the old mercantile system was still the chief plank in the platform of the Tories. The measures were recalled in 1846, through the efforts of Richard Cobden and John Bright, two middle-class merchants, with an aptitude for expression and politics. The repeal of the Corn Laws, they told the laboring classes, would give them cheaper food. They told the industrialists that their business would increase if the United States and other agricultural coun-

ROSS CASTLE,  
KILLARNY,  
IRELAND

Ireland, once the scene of small farms that clustered around castles, came to be more and more dependent on its commerce. A few castles have been preserved, and are now popular tourist sights



tries were allowed to sell grain to England, for then those countries in return could buy English goods. The Irish famines, which could have been greatly minimized by the importation of grain, were also a powerful factor in forcing passage of the bill.

### *IMPERIALISM FOLLOWS INDUSTRIALISM*

The next important step in English economic development was the growth of modern imperialism. Imperialism is a form of national expansion, which developed greatly in capitalistic states. The necessity of finding cheap raw materials, as well as markets in which to sell manufactured goods, arises only in a country so organized that it produces more than it can consume. To obtain these sources of raw materials, and to maintain the necessary economic contacts, a large military force is essential in an imperialistic nation. It must have such an organization of social forces—public opinion, newspapers, and political organization—so that the fighting of foreign wars does not cause domestic revolution. Political and military prestige must accompany economic power.

It was not until the mid-century, however, that England became imperialistic in the modern sense. Though she had vast colonial possessions, the thought of using them as adjuncts to her capitalistic civilization had not yet occurred to her. She was too busy selling machinery to the nations of Europe to bother about the "backward" countries. It was not until other European na-



tions became industrialized and able to compete with British manufacturers that Britain became imperialistic, and took up the "white man's burden." Her early advantage in industrialization, which gave her the whole world as a market, was lost in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

By the 1880's labor-reform demands became more and more insistent as the entire industrial process was speeded up. Liberals forced through Parliament in 1887 an act which forbade mines to employ children under twelve years of age. Four years later a compulsory education act, abolishing tuition fees in elementary schools, provided free training for the children of the laboring classes.

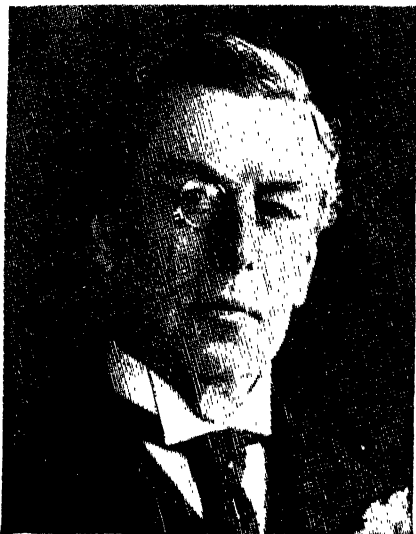
Nevertheless it was not until 1905 that a beginning was made in workingmen's insurance legislation, providing for certain trades

A campaign against the free-trade policy, led by Joseph Chamberlain, exerted considerable influence, although it did not result in a change in the tariff rates. Chamberlain proposed that Britain place duties on foreign foodstuffs and manufactures, but place colonial imports on a preferential list. He felt that such a program would encourage a better imperial feeling, and would benefit local industry and agriculture as well.

Trade-unionism had grown steadily in power and influence since the 1850's. Its agitation had been largely responsible for the granting of suffrage to the laboring classes in 1867, and a few years later for the legalization of the organization of unions and the use of picketing.

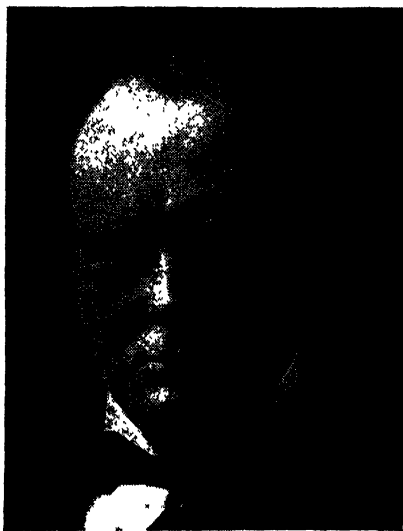
The Socialist movement in England took an intellectual turn in the 1880's under the leadership of the Fabian Society. Its membership included such literary figures as Sidney Webb and George Bernard Shaw, who agitated for a program of national socialization of agriculture, industry, and government.

The labor movement had become powerful enough in 1906 to elect twenty-nine workingmen to the House of Commons. With their added influence, the next decade marked an era of liberal labor legislation. A new Workmen's Compensation Act increased the employers' liability in industrial accidents and illness. Free employment bureaus were established in 1909, while an attempt



Courtesy The Chicago Public Library

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN



Herbert photo

WINSTON CHURCHILL

was made to set minimum wages in certain industries. Educational facilities were further extended to the lower classes, and old age pensions were established.

Housing legislation provided for adequate planning and building programs for industrial centers. Slums were torn down and parks and modern homes were built in their places.

Perhaps the most far-reaching social legislation came in the National Insurance Act of 1912, providing for an unemployment fund, contributed to by the employee, the employer and the state.

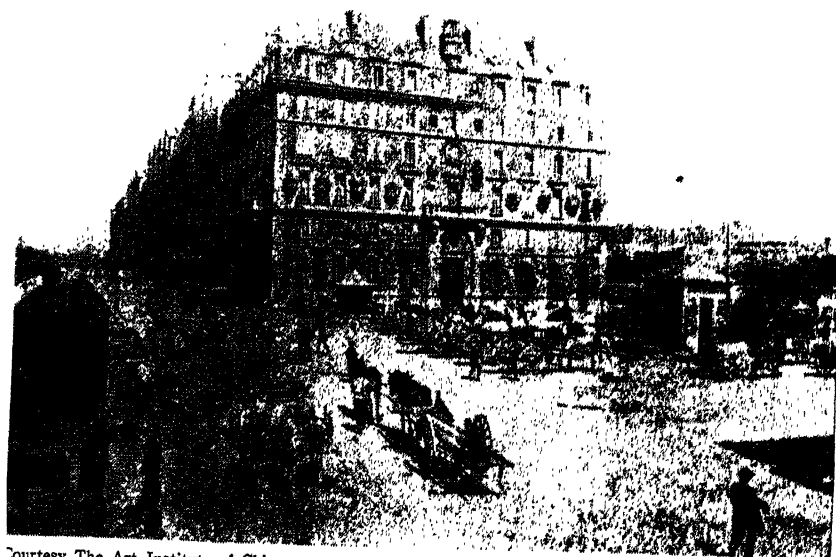
Another important reform, gratefully received by the laboring groups, was the Parliament Bill of 1910-1911, providing for control of finances and public legislation by the Commons and the general election of the members of the House every fifth year.

The reforming element, led by David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, had just started a vigorous campaign against "landlordism" when hostilities broke out in 1914. Liberals, Conservatives, and Laborites hastened to fall into line with a policy of imperial defense and unified governmental control. Sentiment for continued changes in the existing social and political order gave way to a universal patriotic effort to win the war.



Courtesy Railways of France, Le Boyer photo

FRENCH FARMS STILL APPEAR AS THEY DID SEVERAL CENTURIES AGO



Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

MARSEILLES: AS IT APPEARED IN THE MIDDLE NINETEENTH CENTURY

# INDUSTRIALISM COMES TO FRANCE AND GERMANY

## CONSERVATIVE REACTION IN FRANCE

THE Bourbon monarchy was restored by the Congress of Vienna. The new king, Louis XVIII, realizing that the France of 1815 would never accept a return to the old feudalism of the earlier period, wisely did not attempt to restore that system. He gave his people, instead, a charter guaranteeing civil liberties, freedom of the press and religion, and freedom from arbitrary arrest. Despite his liberality, however, he was not popular with the emerging industrial middle class.

When Louis XVIII died in 1824, his brother ascended the throne as Charles X. The latter attempted to restore the old system of things, as well as to bring back the supremacy of the Catholic Church. Moreover, he endeavored to reduce interest on the bonds supporting the public debt, a measure that made him unpopular with the middle classes, whose income was affected. This procedure was adopted in order to give an annuity to the

*émigrés*, whose lands had been appropriated during the Revolution. These and other restrictive measures convinced the people that Charles was merely trying to restore the old power of the Bourbons. Hence in July, 1830, when he issued a series of ordinances that repealed Louis XVIII's charter, the people, urged on by the liberal groups, rose against him. The ill-prepared government troops were defeated after sporadic street fighting.



LOUIS XVIII

He gave the French a constitution guaranteeing civil liberties and freedom of the press and religion.



#### INAUGURATION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE AT VERSAILLES

"He did all in his power to curry favor with the influential middle class."  
(From the painting by Horace Vernet.)

### *RISE OF THE INDUSTRIAL CLASS*

The victorious middle-class liberals had led the people to believe that they would set up a democratic state with a constitution and representatives, but, instead, they installed Louis Philippe, a Bourbon who was favorable to their plans. He at once accepted a constitution that guaranteed the same rights that the earlier charter had, and did all in his power to curry favor with the influential middle class.

The latter group was safely intrenched in control of the government, but the working classes and the small farmers were still unrepresented and received little consideration although they

had supplied the sinews of war for two revolutions. They proceeded to form a party of their own, under the leadership of the socialist journalist, Louis Blanc. He advocated, as an ideal form of government for France, an industrial republic, which would set up national workshops, operated by the workingmen, the products of which would be distributed on an equitable basis.

During the reign of Louis Philippe, the Industrial Revolution came to France. English capitalists were eager to invest in a country whose king had the support of the middle classes and who in turn upheld them. There was little coal or iron in France, and that of a poor grade; so the country never reached the stage of industrial development that England did, though water-power and charcoal somewhat tended to offset that lack. Moreover, there was a large system of canals and roads which retarded the development of the railroads.

The Jacquard loom, which wove complicated patterns in silk, had been invented in 1804, and from that time on France gradually took the lead in the manufacture of luxury goods. There was a large market for French silks, wines, and brandies, which, together with surplus agricultural products, made France economically the second most important nation in Europe.

## *REPUBLIC UNDER LOUIS NAPOLEON*

In 1848 a revolution occurred which swept Louis Philippe out of power; the middle class and the proletariat had again combined against governmental restrictions. Although Blanc, the proletariat leader, attempted to set up his system of national workshops, his plan was so poorly carried out that it was ineffective, and the schemes of the proletariat soon gave way to the less socially-minded plans of the bourgeoisie. Defiantly, the proletariat attempted another uprising, but it was put down by the army. France was proclaimed a republic, and Louis Napoleon, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected president. Soon after he took office, he launched a plan destined eventually to re-establish the power enjoyed by the first Napoleon.

Louis Napoleon suppressed revolutionary movements, but was careful not to alienate the proletariat too much. He sought favor

with the industrialists and placated the royalists. Napoleon thus consolidated the most influential elements of France about him, and, in 1851, by a coup d'état, announced himself emperor.

He put down the immediate uprising of the proletariat, although he continued to parley with the propertied groups. They, on the other hand, did not consider his *coup* seriously and were inclined to support him as long as he kept the revolutionary sentiment of the lower classes quiet. Under the Second Empire, as his regime is called, the middle classes prospered immensely, for Napoleon aided the growing Industrial Revolution to the fullest extent. Capitalism, the faithful ally of industrialism, flourished under his reign. Paris rivaled London as a financial center. The railroads were improved, roads built, and new factories erected. To improve marketing conditions, Napoleon abandoned the French high-tariff policy and allowed the entrance of English iron and steel goods, with the understanding that French wines and brandies be given the same consideration in England.

### DEFEAT BY GERMANY

The Emperor had imperial dreams which eventually led to his downfall. In Germany the crafty Bismarck, noting the trend of affairs, and realizing that a strong France meant a weak Germany, decided to end the matter as soon as an excuse presented itself. By interfering with the internal affairs of Spain, which had offered its empty throne to a Hohenzollern, Napoleon gave Bismarck an opportunity to force a war in 1870. This proved to be a succession of German victories, and in two months Louis Napoleon himself was surrounded and forced to surrender.

The provisional government at home attempted to re-equip an army which could cope with Von Moltke, the German commander, but France was forced to admit defeat. The failure of the armies and government produced a new revolutionary outbreak.

The Paris Commune, organized by radical groups, took advantage of the situation and revolted against the control of the National Assembly. They seized Paris with the aid of the mob and attempted to arouse the country. But the bulk of the people

refused to take advantage of the opportunity and the revolt was suppressed with horrible ferocity. The leaders were either shot or exiled, and any radical movements in France were doomed until a new generation had arisen to produce its own leaders. France was compelled to suffer the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, its chief source of raw materials, and to pay a huge indemnity. The Republic, set up after the fall of Louis Napoleon, struggled valiantly and successfully to provide for the treaty payments and to reorganize the country after the effects of a costly war.

### *DEVELOPMENT OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC*

After a period of confusion and bloodshed, the Republicans assumed leadership under Thiers. By 1875, the Third French Republic was organized under a liberal constitution. Freedom of the press and of assembly were again guaranteed, while an act of 1884 enabled workingmen to organize into trade unions. Elementary public schools established at this time gave the lower classes welcome educational opportunities.

One faction of the radical and socialist element organized a program of co-operative societies and trade unions which sought to gain desired reforms through liberal legislation. By 1910, the Socialists had obtained over one hundred seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Another faction of the working element, disliking ordinary political methods, used the strike, boycott, and sabotage in an effort to achieve its aims.

Until the World War, France remained predominantly an agricultural nation. The smallness of the farms and the abundance of labor called for little agricultural machinery. As time went on, however, railroads and highways were opened, and market-gardening and dairying overshadowed wheat- and potato-raising. In the eighties, French farmers turned to protective tariffs, co-operative associations, and rural education to offset foreign agricultural competition.

France lost to Germany valuable iron and steel plants, cotton factories, and iron deposits in the cession of Alsace-Lorraine. Industry suffered a staggering blow from this loss for almost twenty



years. In 1890 the adoption of a protective-tariff policy gave French manufacturers control of domestic and colonial markets. The cotton, coal, and iron industries received a new impetus, and by the time of the World War, France ranked third in Europe in the manufacture of steel.

## GERMAN CONFEDERATION

The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, had formed the German states into a loose organization known as the German Confederation. The groundwork for this arrangement had been laid by Napoleon in 1806, when he abolished the Holy Roman Empire and united many of the German states in the Confederation of the Rhine. In order to facilitate the conduct of trade, some of these tiny provinces formed an economic alliance in 1833, called the *Zollverein*, or customs union. This league, brought about through the influence of Prussia, erected barriers against foreign goods but allowed German goods to pass between the members free of duty, established a system of weights and measures, and reformed the currency.

The benefits of this trade association were so apparent that a cry rose for closer union in other matters. The middle class,



HEINRICH HEINE

German poet and author of the post-Napoleonic period whose literature contributed to the nationalistic and liberal movement in Europe. Heine studied in the universities at Bonn and Göttingen, where he first became acquainted with the liberal spirit of revolutionary principles. His able use of the German language, coupled with his nationalistic fervor, concentrated attention on the German cultural heritage. One of his poems, the *Lorelei*, was set to music and became a folksong. His memory is honored by world-wide interest in his poems.

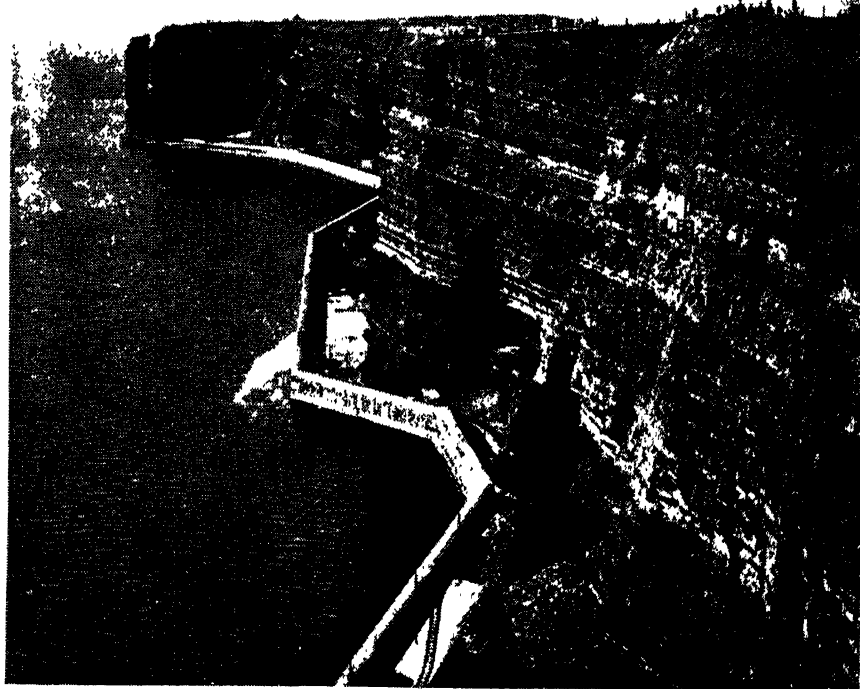
aided in their affairs by the *Zollverein*, clamored for a national government—not necessarily a republic, but a constitutional monarchy; and their views were elucidated by the remarkable intellectual movement known as German Romanticism. Heine, Goethe, and Schiller, as well as the famous German historians Von Treitschke, Von Sybel, and Ludwig Häusser, played a great part in this development. The philosopher Fichte also enunciated a doctrine of nationalism which had much vogue. This nationalistic spirit, combined with genuine liberalism of the period, resulted in the revolt of 1848 in Prussia. It was put down by the army, but the spirit remained and soon manifested itself in a different form.

### PRUSSIA SUPREME IN GERMANY

Austria was the dominant factor in German politics, although the state of Prussia was her most dangerous rival. The Frankfurt Assembly, a group of liberals, proposed that Frederick William IV of Prussia assume the leadership of the German people and form a federal empire. Since the proposition came from a revolutionary group rather than from a divine or royal council, Frederick William refused to accept the invitation. It was felt by the middle class that only a war against the power of Austria could unite the nation.

Prussia was the logical leader of such a war, since she was the strongest of the German States. Under the leadership of William I and his prime minister, Otto von Bismarck, Prussia made careful military and diplomatic preparations for such a conflict.

The middle-class liberals had forced William to accept a constitution, but he believed that he could rule as well as reign under it. In order to defeat Austria, it was necessary for him to build an excellent army, but his plans were fought by the Diet, which feared that a strong military organization would end its power. Bismarck handled the Diet as he pleased, paying as much attention to the Constitution as he chose, and no more. His famous defense of his actions, if so it can be called, explained his views: "Germany looks to Prussia's power, not her liberalism. The great questions of the day are decided not by speeches and majority resolutions . . . but by blood and iron!"



Courtesy German Railroads Information Office, New York

### HELIGOLAND, GERMANY, NEAR THE KIEL CANAL

Developed by Germany as an important naval base and inland water route, the Kiel Canal joins the Baltic and North Seas.

the seeds of its own destruction; that for every tendency, thesis, in the social world there is a counter-tendency, antithesis, which will overwhelm it. Elements of the two are then combined to form a new, third tendency, synthesis,—which in turn is liable to the dialectic thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

Capitalism, having overthrown the old feudal system, was itself to be overthrown by the contradictions contained within itself, or by labor. For, argued Marx, the capitalist adds to the value of an article—value being the amount of labor which went into its manufacture—a certain sum, in order to make a profit. The profit is invested in other capitalistic enterprises, which further speed up production, and the effect of which, when carried on for a time, leads to depressions. This in turn causes the common people to lose their buying and consuming power.

These depressions, with other factors, Marx argued, would lead the workers to realize that they were being exploited, and, starved and outraged, they would eventually rise in wrath against the capitalistic system. For in the past, Marx said, the class struggle had usually resulted in an overthrow of the dominant but out-moded system. This he attempted to prove by his economic interpretation of history; for, he maintained, history is the study of the political forms and civilizations that have arisen in certain types of economic orders—the state and its culture being determined by the economy of the ruling class of people at that time. He predicted that the process which had operated so inevitably and so ceaselessly in the past would not fail to do so in the future. Therefore, said Marx, capital will be concentrated in the hands of a few; and the masses will be in poverty; and then will come the Revolution—the final Revolution, for, understanding the economic and historical process, the people will set up a state which will avoid all political and economic inconsistencies. Under a dictatorship of the proletariat, the people will learn to work and produce for themselves, and will finally be able to do without any state at all. His plea is expressed: “Working men of all the world, Unite! You have the world to gain and nothing to lose but your chains!” This clarion call brought results.

•All over the world various groups arose to carry out the Marx-ian ideas. In most cases the principles became somewhat changed,

as various men, agreeing on Marx's fundamental theses, differed as to the best way of putting them into practice. The First International Workingmen's Association was formed in 1864 by Marx himself; when it broke up it was followed by the Second International.

In Germany particularly the Socialist movement was strong. Therefore Bismarck, though he fought it bitterly, finally was compelled to grant it a certain amount of recognition; but to offset that concession Bismarck went directly to the workers with three radical measures for their benefit. In 1883 laws were passed which provided insurance against sickness; in 1884 against factory accidents; while in 1887 a law was passed providing for industrial regulation, including the limitation of working hours for women and children. In 1889 he established compulsory social insurance for working men. Labor gratefully accepted the three concessions and the threat of revolution dissipated.

To please the industrialists, he provided for a high tariff in 1879, which protected the empire against English and American trade encroachments. This move put the industrial and agricultural classes strongly behind him.

### *GERMAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BEFORE 1914*

Large chemical and electrical works grew up—a tribute to the broad German scientific knowledge. Immense deposits of minerals, from which sulphur, sodium chloride, and potassium salts were extracted, proved invaluable to industrial development. Deposits of coal provided the source of the great German dye industry, while, from 1871 to 1914, the output of the mines increased nearly eight hundred per cent.

Industrial progress stimulated German commerce and shipping, and caused a demand for colonial markets in the expanding business field. Large industrial units adopted mass-production, employed scientific advisers, studied foreign markets, and organized cartels or national business trusts, that apportioned the trade among their members. German branch banking institutions appeared all over the world to aid her industrialists and to finance public improvements in nearby countries.

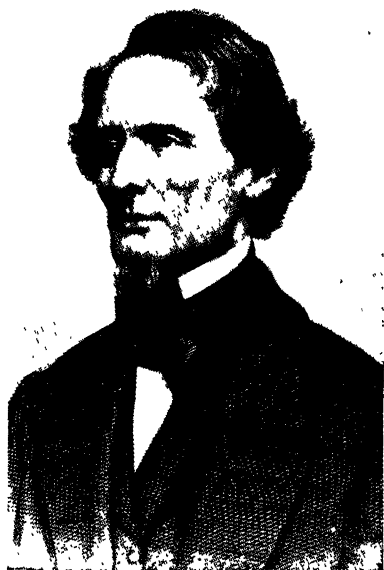
# *RISE OF THE MODERN ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES*

## *THE PLANTATION SYSTEM*

**T**HE RISE of the modern American economic system dates from the Civil War. Not primarily a conflict over slavery, as is usually represented, this war established the American industrialists in power. It was fought because the Southern aristocracy feared the loss of its political power. Slavery, of course, was an important factor but there has been a tendency to over-emphasize its influence.

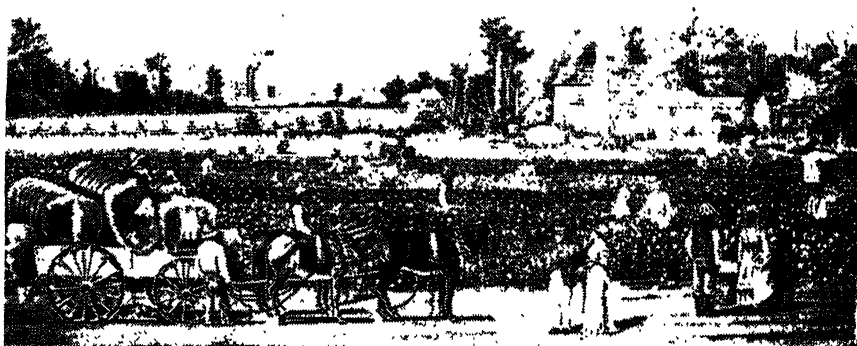
The rise to power of the slave-owners resembled the emergence of the Tory class in England. The classes were similar in economic status, although the methods by which they attained power were different. The principal Southern institution, and one upon which rested the economic welfare of the South, was the plantation system.

There were many picturesque features of slave economy, and its evils have been exaggerated by hysterical propagandists. Around the great home of the planter were broad fields, thousands of acres in area. Slave cabins occupied a separate quarter near the planter's home. Slaves were valuable property, and except for occasional cruel masters they were fairly well treated. The planter's wife was busy looking after the welfare of the slaves, training the servants, directing the affairs of the house and frequently of the fields, and providing for the entertainment and comfort of her family and guests.



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

JEFFERSON DAVIS



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

#### COTTON PLANTATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI

Fundamentally anti-social, the custom of slave-ownership often had redeeming features. In most instances the plantation owner, realizing the economic value of his Negro laborers, did all in his power to promote their physical welfare.

Although to own a plantation was the goal of all Southerners, there were only a few large plantations in the South before the war. In fact, only one-third of the white population had a direct interest in slavery, and but one-third of this group, or one-ninth of Southern whites, owned more than a Negro family or two. The destinies of the eight million Southern whites, however, were guided by the ten thousand great slaveholders.

Slave labor was possible in the South only because of the climatic conditions of that part of the country, which made it possible to grow cotton, tobacco, and rice in great quantities. Experimented with in the North, slave labor had proved too expensive. It was cheaper to pay a man wages and have him support himself than to buy a man outright and to support him until he died, even if he ceased to produce.

#### MANUFACTURING

Industry had begun early in America, but it did not really attain prominence until 1807, when the Embargo Act temporarily stopped English goods from entering the country, forcing Amer-

icans to do their own manufacturing. With this encouragement, industry rapidly increased. The tariff and the host of new inventions that were being produced at this time stimulated output. The steamship enabled commerce to flow much more easily along the river channels to and from the frontiers, and new roads and canals provided increased mobility. There was a constant demand for manufactured goods, clothes, and luxuries.

The only serious flaw in the rosy visions of the manufacturers was the disappearance of labor to the farms of the frontier. If wages were low, or conditions bad, the enterprising mechanic or laborer could emigrate. Losing the best laborers to the West, the eastern manufacturers turned to another source of supply. The discontented people of the Old World were invited to come and live in this new land of promise. Famines, wars, and persecutions caused great numbers of Europeans to seek refuge in America after 1840.

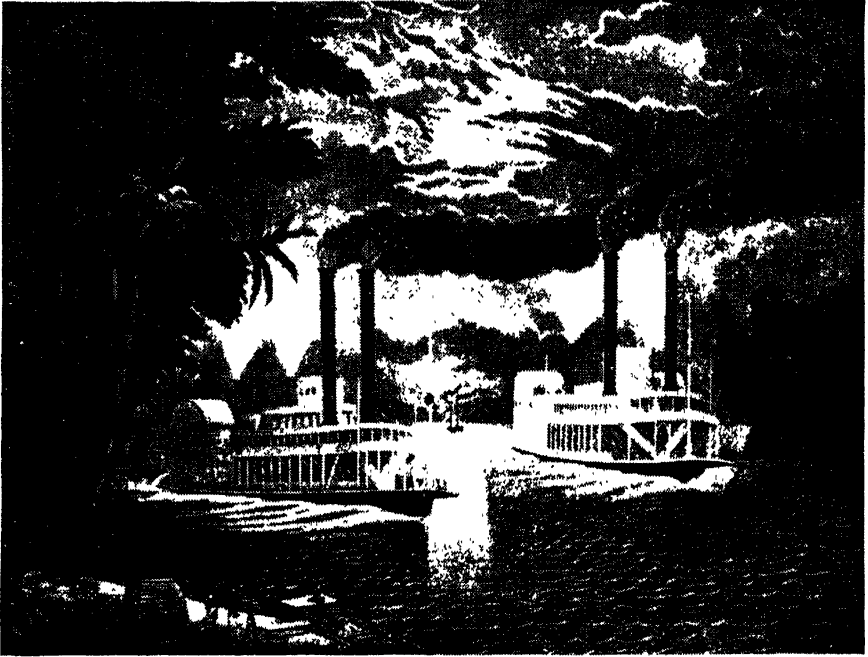
### *THE WESTERN FARMERS*

The farmers of the West presented a far different picture from that of the planters of the South or the industrialists of the North. They were agriculturalists, but of a different type than the Southern planters.

Their farms were generally small, cultivated by the farmers themselves. They were kept busy clearing the forests, planting crops, fighting Indians, raising their families, trapping and hunting, ever striving to raise enough to keep alive and rarely showing even a small profit at the end of the year. They were sturdy, independent men, almost savage in some respects, rough and crude in manners and morals. They were often more cruel than the Indians they displaced. Although the pioneers generally were suspicious of education, they founded "little Harvards" and "little Yales," at Beloit, Wisconsin; Cleveland, Ohio; and Jacksonville, Illinois. They conducted their business affairs with a gun at hand; they were individualistic, yet had their own code of behavior and demanded conformity. Above all, they were democratic and nationalistic.

It was upon the vote of the West that the conflicting elements depended. As the West was flattered one way or the other, laws





Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

#### MIDNIGHT RACE ON THE MISSISSIPPI

The Father of Waters and its tributaries formed the most important trade and communication system of the Midwest, and intense rivalry developed between competing boats.

were passed and action taken. Their tendency had been, generally, to line up with the South on most matters. They realized well enough that they were pawns in the game played by the older sections, but they gained much of what they wanted in the process and were content for the time being.

#### *MANIFEST DESTINY*

The Mexican War serves as a good illustration of the manner in which two sections united for a specific end. The pioneer was always land-hungry. His desire for land had been at least one of the causes of the War of 1812. By the 1830's, Kentuckians, Tennesseans, and other Westerners were entering the rich Texas land and talking of "manifest destiny," or the unquestioned right of the United States to this territory. Oregon was also drawing pioneers to its rich valleys. These immense regions of free land

served as a magnet to the frontiersmen, who, looking into the future, pictured prosperous farms on the fertile soil.

The South, also, was casting covetous eyes upon this neighboring territory. For the South had one serious flaw in its economic organization which eventually led to its undoing: The plantation system called for large tracts of land. Cotton and tobacco exhausted the fertility of the soil, constantly necessitating new fields. In time, the available lands were exhausted and it became imperative that the South extend its territories. So the West and the South united in their expansion program and the Mexican War resulted. From it, the United States acquired in 1848 the territory which is now divided into the states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah.

Southern imperialism, based upon economic need, reached its climax in the Mexican War though there were later grandiose schemes for expansion in Mexico and the Latin-American countries. Two years earlier, Oregon had been added; so by the mid-century the United States included all the territorial limits of the present states. Into this vast area of land were introduced two types of agriculture: the small farm and the plantation system. A conflict between the two systems was inevitable, for both wanted the territory for themselves. The Southerners needed the land in order to continue their political supremacy and economic organization, while the western farmers, basing their exploitation of the land on free labor, opposed the extension of slavery.

Thus in 1848 occurred the inevitable split in the West. Hereafter, the Northwest opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories, while the Southwest demanded recognition of its right to extend that institution in spite of the fact that nature had not made the land west of eastern Texas suitable for the plantation system. No longer was there a West to compromise the differences of the other two sections. It too was divided. Hereafter, there were only two sections, North and South.

The extension of the railroads aggravated the situation; for, instead of connecting the various sections, they too became sectional. The Northwest and Northeast were linked, and, to a lesser extent, the Southwest and Southeast, while only a road or two connected North and South.

PLANTATION  
SCENE IN SOUTH  
CAROLINA

Cotton planters in the South were indignant over tariff barriers, and in 1832 South Carolina, most radical of the southern states, almost seceded.



## EMOTIONALISM CONQUERS REASON

Soon emotionalism entered to complicate the picture. In the North, the anti-slavery societies sought to arouse moral indignation against slaveholding. Slavery was attacked bitterly from all sides, in the press, the pulpit, and in literature. A rather exaggerated indictment of the institution was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, so distorted in treatment that only hate could result from the reading of it. The book became a best seller, a "hit" on the stage, and was used as a textual Bible by abolitionist speakers. Soon the North believed all slaves to be Uncle Toms, and all Southerners, Simon Legrees.

The South replied by using especially chosen extracts from the Bible to prove that Negro slavery was divinely ordered and that those who opposed it were un-Christian. To them, abolitionists and those who operated the "underground railroad" which helped slaves to escape were nothing less than thieves, stealing property valued at from \$1,000 to \$1,800 a head.

The North and South were no longer able to understand each other. Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians split into separate North and South sects. While economic interests, slavery, and political ambitions had caused the North-South sectionalism, it was this emotionalism which brought the matter to a head.

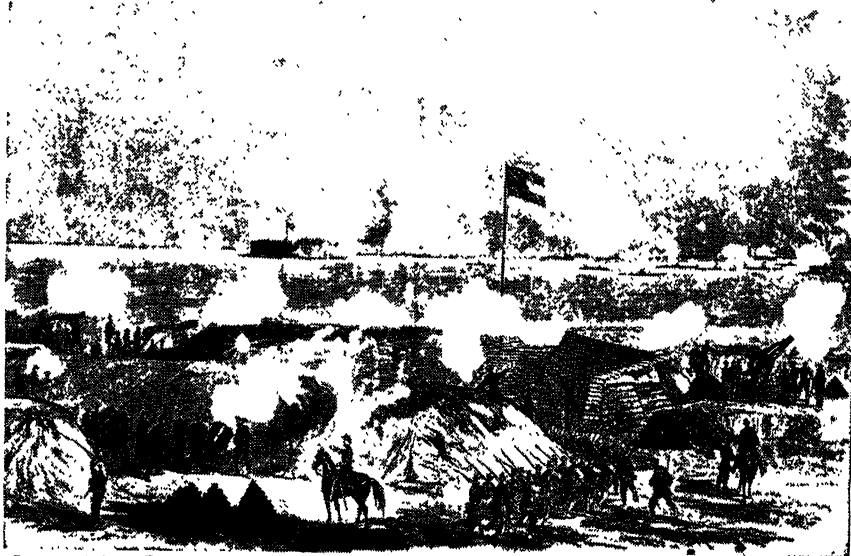
Since there were as many slave as free states, the South, if not in control of Congress, at least was on even terms in the Senate.

For two decades before the outbreak of the Civil War, the president was either a Southerner or had southern sympathies. Since he appointed the judges of the Supreme Court, that bench was mainly southern in point of view. Thus the five-to-four decision in the Dred Scott case, ruling that Congress did not have the right to keep slavery out of any of the territories, is quite explainable. Many northerners, however, referred to the decision as part of a gigantic southern plot to make the country all-slave. Emotionalism blinded the Republicans to the fact that laws of nature had barred slavery from Minnesota, the Dakotas, as well as from Arizona and western Texas, more thoroughly than could any law of Congress. Even "Bleeding Kansas," in which civil war was fought in 1855-1858, had only six slaves at the outbreak of the war. Both sides were now arguing for principles. Reason had fled.

### *BLACK REPUBLICANS ELECT LINCOLN*

The Republican party had been formed from several groups who opposed the Democratic party, now controlled by the South. In the campaign of 1856 the slavery issue was stressed. General Fremont, the Republican candidate for president, was badly defeated. By 1860 the party had become much more conservative. To win the Northeast, they pledged themselves to protective tariff; to win the Northwest, they promised free land in the form of homesteads; but they did retain in their platform a plank to prohibit the extension of slavery.

In the election, Lincoln received a majority of the electoral votes, although polling only forty per cent of the popular vote. The Republicans failed to carry either house of Congress. The South, however, chose to regard Lincoln's election as a threat to their control of the government, the only agency by which their out-dated institution could be preserved. It must be noted, however, that the South was correct in the belief that a combination of the West and the East would forever break its power. According to the state-sovereignty theory which it had long accepted, the next logical step was for the South to secede from the Union.



Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

### THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER

It was the bombardment of Fort Sumter, a fortified island in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, that marked the beginning of hostilities in the Civil War. The Governor of South Carolina had seized the Federal offices in the city and demanded the evacuation of Fort Sumter and when Federal reinforcements arrived to strengthen the fort, a volunteer army of South Carolinians under the leadership of Pierre G. Beauregard began to bombard it. Two days later the Federal troops left it in the hands of the South Carolinians and the war followed.

## SECESSION

Lincoln realized that separation would not solve the problem, but would only establish two rival and antagonistic nations on the continent, thus paving the way for trade barriers and national jealousies. He refused to permit the states to leave in peace. The South, taking the first hostile step, fired on Fort Sumter, which was, to them, a possession of a foreign nation on their soil.

The Civil War had started. Contrary to expectations, it was long and bloody. The North was largely untrained, and had few competent leaders at the beginning of the war. However, it was immensely superior in munitions, man-power, and raw materials,

tion. In the North, also, some of the states were in the control of the same kind of men, who, with utter disregard for the welfare of the state, utilized governments to their own advantage, and were oftentimes influenced by the rising industrial and railroad interests.

### *RAILROAD BARONS IN CONTROL*

Industry grew prodigiously during this period. Railroads were built throughout the West, and that section rapidly became settled. As the railroad-building fever swept the country, officers of the new rail companies became great financiers rather than practical railroad men. Built to a great extent by public money, the new trans-continental railroads became fertile fields for investment and high finance. Some of these railroad magnates were utterly unscrupulous in their methods; they bribed politicians into obedience and by intimidating the judges and juries secured freedom from such legal redress as was open to their victims. They enlisted groups of thugs to fight for them when necessary, and had these ruffians deputized, so their actions could be called legal. It was possible for this type of individual to exist, since the need for railroads and other internal improvements was so great that the "robber barons" remained undetected in the midst of the many honest railroad builders and enterprising business men who really deserve the credit for opening the West.

In time, these financiers replaced the industrialists as the ruling class. By means of huge combinations of capital, which the development of the country logically necessitated, they bought their way into all sorts of projects, and toward the end of the nineteenth century were largely in control of all production.

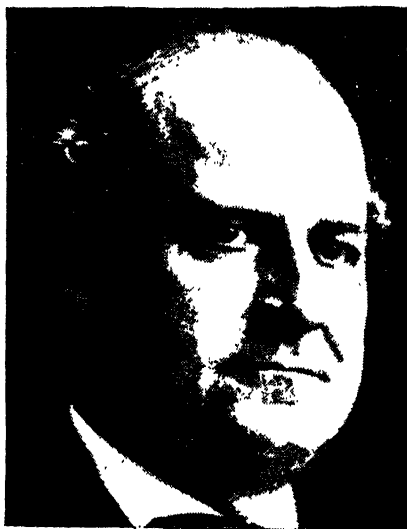
### *PANICS AND DISSATISFACTION*

An era of speculation and panics ensued. People, crazed by the desire for great wealth, and attracted by the glowing expectations and promises of the financiers, as well as by the very real opportunities for investment, put money into almost any proposition. Foreign capitalists were also attracted and made investments in this country.

In 1873, the effects of the Civil War, combined with the other factors, produced a disastrous panic. In 1884 occurred a slight panic, caused by the speculative craze, but it was largely confined to the East; while in 1893 a major panic took place. To check the spread of a depression abroad, foreign capital was withdrawn from the United States. Banks crashed, and the credit structure tottered. The result was the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which Cleveland, the eastern Democrats, and the Republicans believed to be the cause of the panic.

This silver act had been the chief plank, not only of the silver states, but of all the West, which favored all inflationary schemes. With them were united reformers and the defenders of the "common man" against the evils of big business. These groups after the Civil War formed various third parties, only one of which, the Populist, won electoral votes, although several controlled some Western states at various times.

Finally, in 1896, these western agrarians won the control of the Democratic party. Headed by William Jennings Bryan, who preached a crusade against sinful "Big Business," the party was defeated at the polls by McKinley.



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

## *"BIG BUSINESS" CURBED*

Four years later, reform of "Big Business" set in under Theodore Roosevelt, who tried to avoid being a supporter of eastern industry, eastern labor, or western agriculture. He was careful to point out that there were both good and bad trusts, good and bad business men, and good and bad labor leaders. At first Roosevelt used the exposures of the "Muckrakers" appearing in magazines and books. But by 1906 he thought enough mud-slinging had taken place and frowned on continuing these practices.

He made use of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, although he found it faulty in operation. Many of the reforms demanded by labor, agrarians, and progressive leaders, were enacted. By the end of Roosevelt's term, government regulation of business had made a good start. Eight years later, under the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, greater regulation took place, and by the outbreak of the World War, the machinery, at least, for the control of "Big Business," had been erected.

## *LABOR ORGANIZES*

Labor, seeking to protect itself against the unrestrained captains of industry, organized soon after the Civil War. This first organization, a secret society, was called the Knights of Labor, and had several objectives besides higher wages and shorter hours. It demanded that trade unions be recognized, that laws be equally enforced against capital and labor, and that anti-trust laws be enacted. Headed by Terence V. Powderly, the Knights of Labor gained much ground; but when public opinion turned against it after the Haymarket Riot in Chicago, in 1886, it soon sank into insignificance.

The next important organization to arise was the American Federation of Labor, which united the trade workers into local units directed by a central body. This type of union stressed particularly the skilled worker. The organizing ability of Samuel Gompers made the American Federation of Labor an important factor in American society.





courtesy Chicago Historical Society

#### THE HAYMARKET RIOT

The Knights of Labor, organized soon after the Civil War, gained ground rapidly until the Haymarket Riot in Chicago, after which public opinion turned against the organization and it lost its power.

The International Workers of the World, formed in 1905, had radical principles, aiming to set up a workers' republic by means of a general strike. Developing from the doctrines of Marx, this type of movement is called Syndicalism. It was suppressed by the passage of criminal-syndicalism laws in most of the states during the War.

The Supreme Court, early in the twentieth century, ruled that labor unions were combinations in restraint of trade and so illegal under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Injunctions were therefore granted to employers against their striking employees. To offset this ruling, organized labor sponsored the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 which provided that the labor unions, as well as agrarian organizations, should be free from classification as trusts. However, the issuing of injunctions by the courts continued to hamper unions and this became the next target of labor in its fight to gain influence and power.

## PART III

### WORLD IMPERIALISM

THE AFRICAN VELDT  
Africa is a land rich in fertile fields, mineral deposits, and plant and animal life. Its value did not become apparent until about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Courtesy  
Kenya Africa  
Association



### EUROPEAN PARTITION OF AFRICA

#### PRELUDE TO IMPERIALISM

THE STORY OF EUROPEAN DISCOVERY and exploration of the vast unknown areas of the world has already been told. Despite the fact, however, that large colonial empires existed on the American continents and in the East Indies, there were still lands of great potentialities awaiting exploitation.

England was, without question, the greatest colonial power in 1763. From that time until the advent of modern imperialism a century later, European nations were too occupied with internal problems and continental affairs to devote much thought or effort to expansion.

The earlier economic theory of mercantilism had emphasized the importance of colonies as a source of raw materials, a protected market, and the accumulation of gold. The newer policy of colonial expansion, known as imperialism, a product of the Industrial Revolution, demanded larger amounts of raw materials, and wider and freer markets and investment fields for surplus manufactured goods and capital.

The Adam Smith doctrine of *laissez faire* was eagerly adopted by the rising industrialists, who irked under excessive governmental regulation. More extensive world or colonial markets must

be found to absorb the increasing surplus of goods and capital; although it was not long until those same capitalists insisted on high tariff walls to protect their interests from foreign competitors.

From these various and conflicting economic motives, came the theory of modern imperialism, with all its implications of inflated national prestige, vicious trade rivalries, enlarged military organizations, and dubious methods of acquisition and exploitation.

As the industrialization process went on during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this desire for economic expansion was closely allied with the emerging nationalism of the period. Such nations as Germany and Italy, which had recently achieved national unity, began to turn their attention to securing their share of unexploited areas in Africa, in the Near East, and the Orient.

France, still suffering from the staggering loss of Alsace-Lorraine, sought to regain her European prestige by acquiring territory and spheres of influence in Africa and the East. Russia, in a burst of national expansive zeal, penetrated into Siberia and southern Asia. England continued to consolidate her superior position in the colonial world in the extension of her imperial control, the maintenance of her navy and her great capitalistic organization. Even the United States was not immune to this nationalistic surge and found herself, at the turn of the century, an imperial world power, in spite of her earlier reaction against European imperialism.

An attempt was made to rationalize and justify the extension of European civilization to so-called "backward areas." Many imperialists were probably sincere in emphasizing the religious and moral responsibility of sharing the advantages of a superior culture with less fortunate people. In fact, those honest and earnest missionaries, who followed the explorer and trader, were often unconsciously preparing the way for new empires. Such was the case of the famous missionary-explorer, David Livingstone, whose initial efforts to elevate the black man of central Africa, led to the inauguration of the British and Belgian imperialistic policy there. Although the medical missionary and teacher

have valiantly attempted to carry the best of the white man's civilization to other races, much of their effort was nullified by the unprincipled action of the industrialist and the soldier.

Another excuse given for enlarging the boundaries of older nations was the surplus population argument. As modern science lengthened the life-span of the human race, the birth-rate exceeded the death-rate in a ratio of three to one. As portions of these surplus populations sought their fortunes in recently-opened territories, it was natural that the parent nation should wish to place her protecting care over them. This sometimes involved countries in devious diplomatic procedure which occasionally ended in war or at least laid the basis for dangerous future disputes.

Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of modern imperialism was on the foreign policy of the industrial nations. Previous to the World War, even the solution of domestic issues and the rise and fall of cabinets were dependent upon a popular foreign policy, subscribed to by shipping magnates, exporters, financial and banking interests, and a patriotic working class.

The naval and military rivalries of the pre-war period may be largely laid to this world race for raw materials and wider markets. Naval bases, coaling stations, and efficient merchant marines were necessary factors in modern economic imperialism. Political intervention and annexation were simply the next logical steps in the process.

### *BRITISH ACQUISITIONS IN AFRICA*

European imperialistic spirit was intensified during the nineteenth century, and the vast continent of Africa became the scene of international rivalry. Great Britain had acquired Cape Colony, Natal, and a few possessions on the west coast early in the century. These acquisitions proved to be convenient bases for further expansion.

One of the chief agents of British African imperialism was Cecil Rhodes, who hoped that some day Great Britain would possess the southern half of the continent. Rhodes also dreamed of a Cape-to-Cairo railway to connect Egypt with the southern

colonies. Clever business maneuvers, with the support of British naval and military forces, enabled him to extend English influence over numerous native kingdoms in South Africa which soon became British protectorates and then colonies.

The Boer republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, were acquired after a stubborn war from 1899 to 1902. General Botha then started a movement to unite Britain's South African colonies, and the Union of South Africa came into existence in 1910. South African gold and diamonds, with other wealth from the region, contributed much to the strength of the British Empire. Great Britain declared a protectorate over Nigeria in 1885, and assumed direct control fifteen years later. This fertile region was added to British possessions only after overcoming the opposition of France and Germany.

British interests in India made it advisable to secure control over Egypt, an area in which France was also interested. Disraeli managed to buy enough of the stock of the Suez Canal to establish British control. Then, when Ismail Pasha, the extravagant ruler of Egypt, defaulted on British and French loans, the two countries co-operated in exercising a joint control from 1879 to 1883. France was induced to withdraw from Egypt in return for a free hand in Morocco. France and Great Britain almost came to blows in the contest for the Sudan region. Military forces were sent by the two countries to Fashoda, where the inferior French detachment was compelled to retire.

British supremacy in Egypt, secured after a display of force, was more or less firmly established by Lord Cromer who was virtually dictator of the region until a short time before the World War. Many reforms were introduced into the Egyptian government, but the natives were not reconciled to foreign domination.

British and French missionaries made the first pronounced advances into the East African region. The British East Africa Company had been formed and proceeded to establish a firmer foothold in the area. The French were eliminated when they were given a free hand in the island of Madagascar in return for giving up their claims on East Africa. Germany and Britain induced the Sultan of Zanzibar to grant them a coastal strip of territory.



Photo by UFA

#### EAST AFRICAN NATIVES AFTER A SUCCESSFUL LION HUNT

English Imperialism, forced by altered economic conditions, touches even the lives of these simple inhabitants of the Dark Continent.

It was only a short time before both nations had extended their holdings into the interior. In a treaty (1890) Britain and Germany came to final agreement with the former acquiring Uganda, Nyasaland, and Zanzibar. The English government bought out the British East African Company, and protectorates were proclaimed over the colonies in 1894-1895. Once again Britain had emerged with the lion's share.

#### FRANCE A LEADING CONTESTANT

France, like England, was a possessor of African territory before 1870. Several small holdings along the western coast were claimed by the French nation, and French Algeria in the extreme north had been acquired in 1830. These areas were taken more by accident than deliberate imperialism. Algeria provided a good excuse for further North-African conquests by France.

Tunis, a small area just east of Algeria, was overrun with foreign speculators, traders, money-lenders, and concession-seekers after 1860. France, England, and Italy vied with one another for control of the tiny territory. France loaned the reckless Bey (ruler of Tunis) large quantities of money, and, when disorder appeared in the area, the French creditors always had a good excuse for entering and occupying the territory by force. In 1881 the Bey, under pressure, signed a treaty which amounted to French occupation of his country, and two years later France established a protectorate over the region.

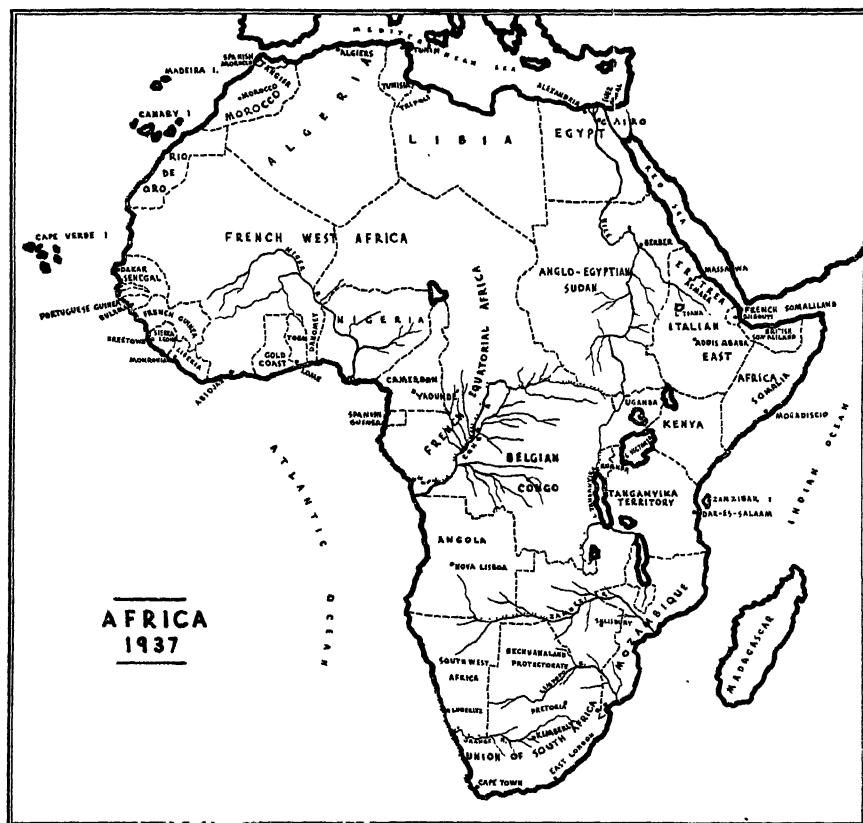
Italy had hoped to gain the Tunisian territory and was indignant when France assumed control of it. When the Triple Alliance was renewed in 1887, Italy got Germany to support her in an effort to curb further French acquisitions in Northern Africa.

France moved next into Morocco, a territory to the west of Algeria. The French contended that protection for her valuable colony of Algeria was necessary, hence Tunis and Morocco had to be acquired as buffer colonies.

It so happened that other European nations enjoyed a rather prosperous trade with Morocco and would not give it up without a struggle. However, Delcassé, the French minister, was determined to add the territory to the French African empire. He assured Italy that France had no interest in Tripoli and Cyrenaica and would leave Italy to do what she wished there. Spanish support was won by offering that nation the northern and southern extremities of Morocco, if she would agree to leave the rest to France.

Revolts in Morocco furnished the necessary incident for French intervention and occupation. However, in the previous bargaining, Germany had been ignored, and it proved to be a grievous error. Germany insisted on the status quo with equal trade privileges to all in Morocco. When the German Kaiser landed at Tangier in 1905, he made this matter plainly understood.

France could not afford to risk war with Germany, and so a conference was held at Algeciras in 1906, in which a suitable, but only temporary agreement was reached. The Bank of Germany and the Bank of France were to have partial control of



Moroccan finances. Concessions and contracts for public works, such as railways, were to go to the most favorable bidder. Frenchmen and Spaniards were to organize and train the Moroccan police.

France, thus reassured, continued the gradual conquest of the region. A revolt at Fez, the capital, furnished the necessary pretext for occupation by the French army in 1911. Germany responded by sending a battleship to Agadir, more as a bluff to force concessions from France than for any other reason. Germany was obstinate and would have been ready to declare war on France had not the latter been assured of British support. Morocco was finally conquered by French troops and a protectorate proclaimed in 1912.



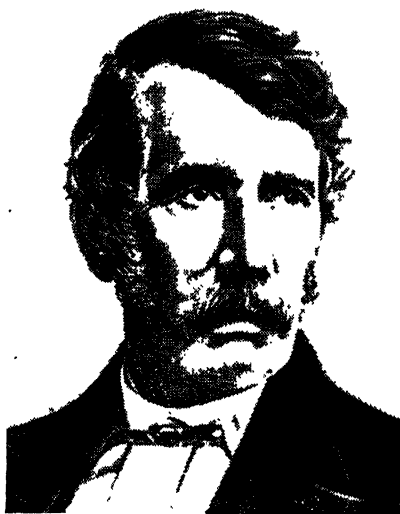
The struggle for possession of the Sudan region was no less intense than those previously mentioned. The great French dream was to connect by an unbroken strip her West African possessions of Senegal and Guinea with her eastern holding of Somaliland on the Red Sea. The French hoped to take over Abyssinia, but Italian interests prevailed there, much to British satisfaction. Although thwarted in its designs on the Sudan, France received a strip of territory which connected her Congo possession with the Nile River, thus providing access to the great waterway of Africa.

France had succeeded in carving for herself the second largest empire in Africa. The total area of her colonies on that continent was many times the area of the French nation in Europe. The success of her imperialistic policy was second only to that of Great Britain.

### *BELGIUM TAKES THE HEART OF AFRICA*

Belgium, despite her inferior size and power, carved out an unusually large slice of territory on the Dark Continent. To Henry Morton Stanley must go much of the credit for the establishment of the Belgian domain in Central Africa. Sent by his employer to search for David Livingstone, the English missionary-explorer, Stanley penetrated the wilds of Central Africa, the part now designated as Belgian Congo. He succeeded in his objective of finding Livingstone, but, more important, he had discovered another rich area unexploited by European nations. Upon his return to Europe he was offered the opportunity of continuing his exploits in the employ of Leopold, king of Belgium.

Stanley was sent back into the Congo in 1879. Leopold's professed altruism or humanitarianism was soon tossed to the winds when he realized the possibilities of making profit from the Congo region. However, his project did not go unopposed. France entered a protest backed up by Germany and Britain. This led to the famous Berlin Conference of 1885 in which there were loud expressions of international altruism. The natives must be educated and their moral and material well-being protected. How-



DAVID LIVINGSTONE

Whose initial efforts to elevate the black men of central Africa led to the subsequent inauguration of the Belgian and British imperialistic policy in Africa."



HENRY MORTON STANLEY

Stanley penetrated the wilds of central Africa in search of the lost missionary-explorer, Livingstone, and discovered a rich area hitherto unexploited by European nations.

ever, a provision in regard to free-trade privileges in the area was incorporated in the general act. The profit motive was still there.

The Congo region was transformed into the Congo Free State (1885) with Leopold as sovereign. Measures were taken by the Belgian authorities to introduce European civilization, irrespective of the dislike of the native inhabitants. What began as a humanitarian venture, became a cold-blooded business proposition. The system followed by Leopold was that of granting concessions to corporations which would exploit and develop the Congo region. The Belgian king was given liberal dividends out of the profits of these various corporations. Control over the Congo was transferred to the Belgian government in 1908, and the Congo Free State became Belgian Congo, a colony. The region was endowed with a fair supply of natural resources, but in the Congo, as in so many other areas taken over by imperialistic powers, the main problem was labor.



Courtesy Union of South Africa

#### MEMORIAL TO CECIL RHODES, EMPIRE BUILDER

Rhodes, an Englishman who went to Natal for his health, founded Rhodesia, sought to build a great South African empire for Britain and to link Capetown to Cairo.

### PORTUGAL'S POSITION

The Portuguese had touched the fringes of Africa during the early period of discovery and exploration in the late fifteenth century. However, Portugal had not established any definite foothold in the form of settled colonies. These early claims were emphasized when the great scramble for African territory took place after 1870. Mozambique, later Portuguese East Africa, and Angola on the west were areas claimed by the Portuguese.

Although Portugal's possessions in Africa were not highly valuable, they were the object of international connivance by Britain and Germany. It was assumed that Portugal, being a weak rival or contestant in Africa, could be easily pushed aside. Germany desired to acquire parts of the Portuguese colonies to complete her great *Mittelafrika* scheme. She had actually signed a secret treaty with Britain in 1898 providing for the division of the Portuguese colonies. It was hoped that Portugal would sell her

territories, but such was not the case. As late as 1913 a new pact between Germany and England was drawn up, whereby it was decided to divide Portugal's colonies regardless of what she, as the owner, might have to say. The plan fell through, and Portugal continues to hold her African territory.

### GERMANY'S LATE ARRIVAL

Germany's late entrance into the African land-grabbing contest was a cause for considerable international friction. Under the guidance of Bismarck, Germany had been busy with continental European affairs. The German Chancellor's system of alliances occupied his time in the hope that his nation would be the supreme power in Europe. However, neither Bismarck nor the German people could resist the rising tide of imperialism. Pressure from the merchant class of Germany was a factor in converting Bismarck to imperialism. This took place some time after 1875, and it was not until the middle of the next decade that Germany secured a foothold in Africa.

Lüderitz, a German merchant, had landed in Southwestern Africa between the British settlements of Walfish Bay and Cape Colony. Great Britain was alarmed. Meanwhile, Bismarck decided to take Lüderitz and company under German protection. However, the German flag was not officially hoisted above African soil until the explorer, Nachtigal, landed in the vicinity of the Gulf of Guinea (1884). The German explorer had taken territory which was the beginning of what later became the Togoland and Cameroons of the German empire in Africa. About this same time, Flegel, another German apostle of imperialism, was losing the race for Nigeria which was taken by Great Britain. Germany began to push southward from her initial foothold in Togoland and Cameroons until the territory, later known as German Southwest Africa, had been acquired. However, she was not satisfied with what she had taken.

At approximately the same time that the Germans were taking parts of West Africa, a native son, Carl Peters, was extending German influence in Eastern Africa. A German East African Company was formed under protection of the home government.



Acme photo

**NATHAN ROTHSCHILD**

Founder of the famous English banking house bearing his name, which loaned great amounts of money for the promotion of imperialistic enterprises.

It began operations in the vicinity of Zanzibar and Tanganyika territory. The English also had their eyes on this region; hence an agreement of some sort had to be made. Each nation secured from the sultan of Zanzibar, a strip of territory along the coast of East Africa. It did not take the two nations long to extend their territory inland a considerable distance. They finally came to a definite settlement by which the British nation was to take Kenya and Uganda, while Germany took over the Tanganyika territory.

It was after this acquisition that the German desire for a *Mittelafrika* empire became very pronounced. She now had eastern and western territories to connect, which, if accomplished, would form a continuous strip from ocean to ocean across South Central Africa. However, the British stood in the way of such a

project. Germany, nevertheless, succeeded in extending the Cameroons inland to Lake Chad, having acquired a slice of the French Congo as compensation for French ascendancy in Morocco. Germany also acquired a narrow strip of territory which extended inland to the Zambesi River.

Considering her rather tardy arrival, Germany acquired an impressive empire in Africa. However, it was not enough to satisfy the extreme nationalists and imperialists of the "Fatherland." A nation as great as Germany must certainly get more than that! The result was that they turned to other parts of the world in order to make up for lost time in the African partition.

### *ITALY ALSO IN THE SCRAMBLE*

Italy became interested in acquiring African territory largely as a result of French acquisitions in the northern part of that continent. The Italians hoped to rise to the level where they could be considered one of the major powers of Europe, if not of the world. Decidedly nationalistic and almost financially bankrupt, Italy entered the expensive game of imperialism. Her attention was first centered upon the insignificant territory of Tunis on the northern coast of Africa. However, as previously shown, France intended to take this territory. Despite Italy's joining the Triple Alliance, she could not bring enough pressure to bear to prevent French acquisitions in northern Africa. This old wound inflicted by France was healed some time later, when that nation gave Italy a free hand in the desert-like regions of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This bargain was of importance because it tended to dissipate Italy's loyalty toward her allies, Germany and Austria.

Before proceeding into Tripoli, Italy had seen the expediency of securing promises of support from other nations. One by one she made secret bargains or agreements with the great powers. The process of "peaceful penetration" was begun, and before long the region was dominated by the Italians. Atrocity stories were made use of to spur the Italian nation into action. Internal disorder was a menace to Italian interests. While European nations



Courtesy Union of South Africa

**BETHLEHEM, ORANGE FREE STATE, AFRICA**

Better known for gold and diamonds, South Africa is also very important agriculturally. Bethlehem is the center of a rich farming section.

focused their attention upon the Moroccan crisis in 1911, Italy took advantage of the situation. A sharp ultimatum was sent to Turkey, which claimed the territory. Italy could not wait and openly declared war on the "sick man" of Europe. The Turco-Italian War resulted in an Italian victory. The territory desired was annexed by a bold stroke of imperialism. Italy never did get her money's worth out of this great sand pile in Northern Africa. However, it did tend to satisfy the intense nationalistic spirit of the Italian people.

In Eastern Africa also, Italy was forced to fight to gain the territory she desired. Eritrea, a small coastal area just north of Abyssinia, had been acquired about 1880. About nine years later Italian Somaliland, to the southeast, was taken. The next territory to which Italy turned was Abyssinia, the link between the two areas mentioned above. When the Italians began a policy

of forceful penetration, they soon discovered their mistake. King Menelik and his Abyssinian subjects dealt the Italian army a stinging defeat at Adowa in 1896. Needless to say, the Abyssinian kingdom retained its independence. Italy abandoned her Abyssinian project, but never forgot the incident.

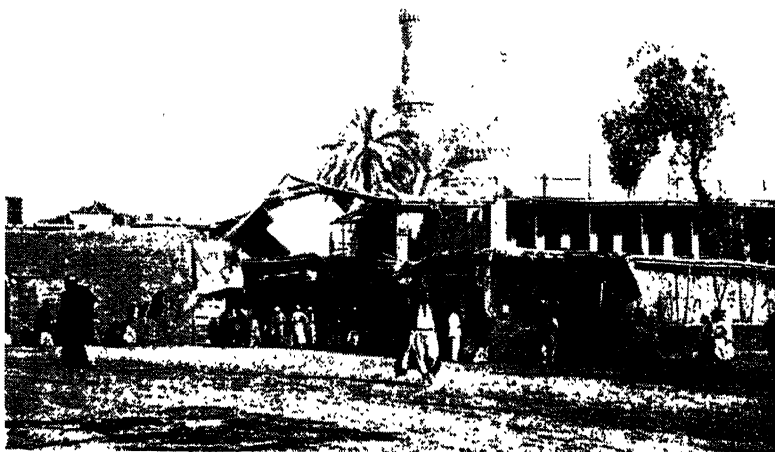
The Italian ventures into Africa were costly. The return on the original investment has been very small, generally speaking. Gratification over becoming an imperial power was probably the greatest reward for the Italian nation.



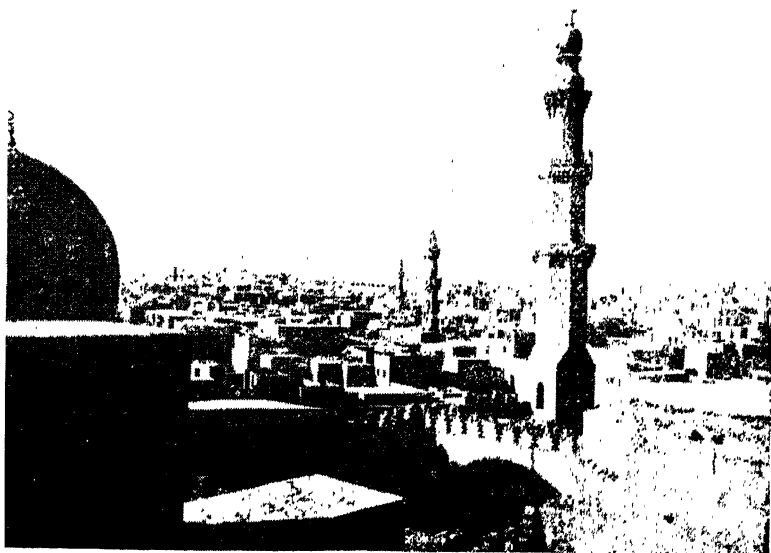
Paul's Photos, Chicago

DESERT POLICE STATION ON THE EDGE  
OF MOROCCO





STREET SCENE IN BAGDAD, WITH MOSQUE IN BACKGROUND  
The "Berlin-to-Bagdad" railroad, under Germany's ambitious plan, would have terminated in this city.



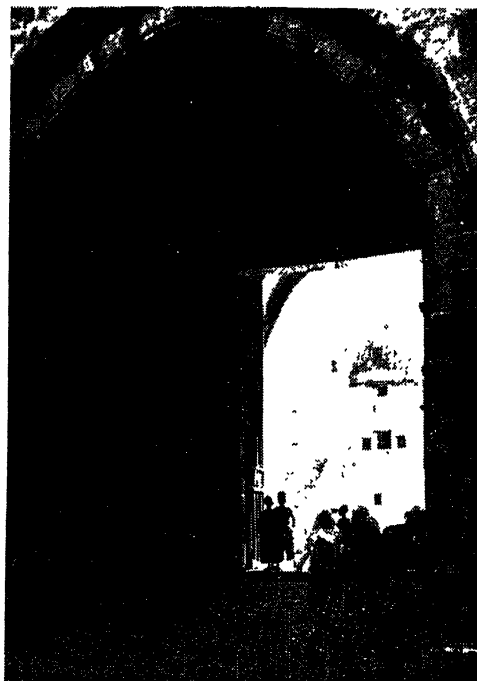
Black Star photo by Fritz Henle

A SECTION OF PICTURESQUE CAIRO

# IMPERIALISM IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

## RUSSIAN AMBITIONS

THROUGHOUT MOST of the nineteenth century Russia cast longing eyes toward those parts of the East which, roughly speaking, include the Balkans, Asia Minor, and even the Arabian peninsula. Turkey, an imperial power in Asia and Europe, which owned this land, would be the victim of the Russian aggression. The great dream of uniting all the Slavic peoples under Russian leadership must be kept in mind to understand Russian imperialism in the Near East. Desire to trade and gain access to the seas of the world dictated the persistent and almost traditional attempt to acquire Constantinople, the key to the door which connects the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. Possession of land in Western Asia was necessary to protect Russian interests around the Black Sea.



Black Star Photo by Fritz Henle

ENTRANCE TO THE PLACE OF THE  
TEMPLE, JERUSALEM

The treaty of San Stefano in 1878 gave Russia territory in the Balkans and also, by the creation of independent states, greatly weakened Turkey. The Congress of Berlin later that year, however, checked the momentum of the Russian imperialistic machine. England, France, and Austria opposed any scheme whereby the big Slavic nation would acquire the larger share of the spoils, if and when the time came to divide the territory of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire.

Russian dreams and ambitions were thwarted, but only temporarily. The settlement at Berlin did not heal the sore spot; instead, a new one appeared when Austria was given the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For some years there was no great disturbance or conflict in the Balkan area. Germany had cultivated a friendship with Russia which lasted until Bismarck's successors departed from his skilful policy of mollifying the Tsar's foreign office. They launched the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway project, which threatened Russian plans. The extension of German influence in the Balkans and Turkey could not be tolerated. The railroad might be the tonic which would revive the "sick man" of Europe. For economic and strategic reasons Russia could not, under any circumstances, agree to this stroke of German imperialism. Russia now joined with France and England in opposing German designs in the Near East.

### *ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST*

Russia had also directed her attention to the Middle East, that area including Persia, Afghanistan, and India. Nourishing the hope of obtaining a warm seaport outlet here also, she intrigued in the direction of the Persian Gulf. However, Russia expected that the British would have something to say about this, and they did. Britain felt that the road to India must be guarded at any price, hence she made it appear that Russia was the aggressor while she was merely protecting her property in a purely defensive role.

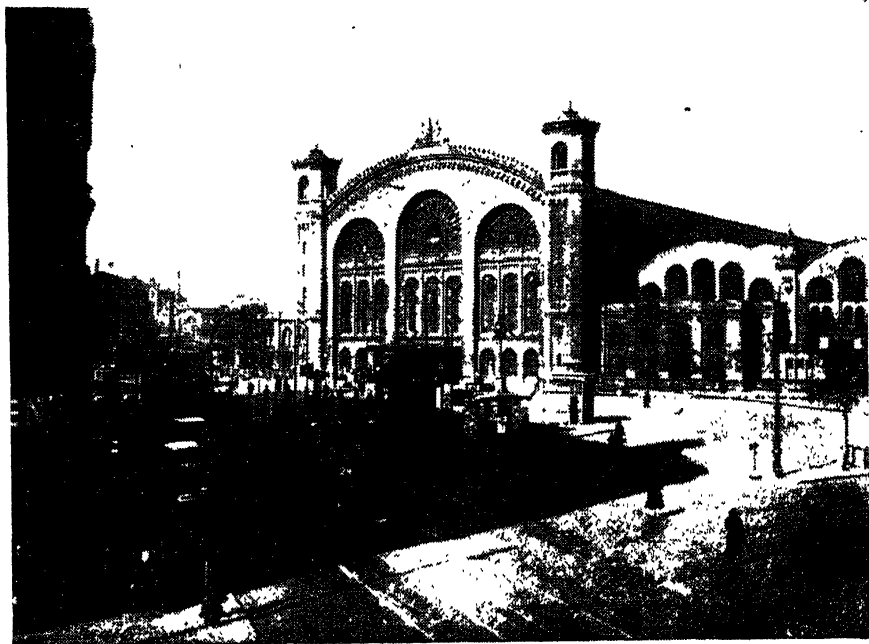
The Russian advance southward began shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century. By the late 1870's Russia appropriated such Central Asiatic lands as Turkmenistan, Bokhara, Khiva and others, and began to encroach upon the northern borders of Persia and Afghanistan. If the Russian giant stepped across the Afghanistan mountain barrier, India would be seriously menaced. A crisis arose in 1884-1885 when Russia capitalized on British preoccupation with the Boers of South Africa to drive the Russian wedge still deeper in Middle Asia.

By the year 1906, it was imperative that Russia and England decide the issue. Britain had announced that she would resist the establishment of a naval base on the Persian Gulf by any European power. England had recently formed a friendship with France and the latter was Russia's ally. Furthermore, Russia had not fully recovered from the defeat by Japan in the previous year. The new Russian foreign minister, Isvolsky, favored alliance rather than conflict with Great Britain. These factors led to a more friendly and equitable agreement in 1907. Afghanistan was left to British supervision; Tibet was established as a buffer state remaining nominally independent, but actually under a considerable British influence; and Persia was to be divided into three zones. The northern zone was to be left to Russian exploitation, the southern zone to Britain, and a neutral zone in the center open to both. Persia had no voice in the matter. Disorder within the divided nation soon followed and was used by Russia as a pretext for further extension of control in the zone allotted to her. Persia recovered a semblance of independence after the World War.

### *THE BERLIN-TO-BAGDAD AXIS*

As a result of her German alliance, Austria was opposing Russia in the Balkan area at this period. Germany under William II did not seem to fear France and Russia. When Germany decided to advance into the Balkan and Turkish areas, Austria was ready to co-operate. The alliance with Austria-Hungary became the cornerstone of German foreign policy. If Austria should become the dominant power in the Balkans, then the chances of building the great German railroad through that area would be aided. Thus, Germany stood behind the activities of her ally in the Balkan area, although at times restraining her more ambitious friend.

Bismarck, earlier, had been of the opinion that the entire Balkan area was not worth the "bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier." After he had left office, German policy was reversed, and the idea of a Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad was seriously



STETTINER BAHNHOF: RAILROAD STATION IN BERLIN

considered. The emperor was an imperialist whose friendly missions to Turkey paved the way for the German project. The Turkish Sultan welcomed such a development; foreign capital was welcome in his almost bankrupt country. Turkey was soon overrun with bankers, missionaries, investors, and military men, in fine, all the typical elements of imperialism. The railway concession became a contract in 1903 and the project was launched upon turbulent waters. It is interesting to observe that French and British banking interests assisted the German promoters in the gigantic undertaking. However, Great Britain as a nation soon made it known that she opposed such a project. It would be a menace to the Suez canal and the route to India. The French government at first appeared to lend support, for this project might divert German attention from Morocco, upon which France had designs.

Temporary agreements were finally reached in regard to the Bagdad railroad project. Russia ceased to oppose it in return

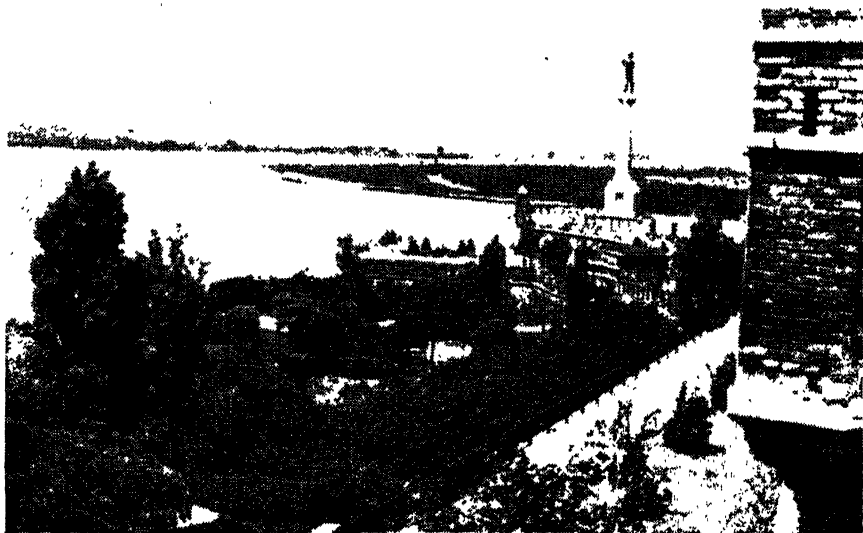
for German recognition of Russia's right to northern Persia. France sold her interest in the railroad and was given a free hand by Germany to receive concessions for railways in northern Anatolia and Syria. British opposition was overcome when Germany promised not to establish a terminal on the Persian Gulf except by English permission. Germany also recognized the priority of British interests in Mesopotamia. However, the French nation turned against the scheme when a possible threat to her Syrian concessions seemed imminent. Russia actually remained opposed to the German project and may have convinced France of the inexpediency of supporting it.

### *RISE OF BALKAN NATIONALISM*

The Balkans from the beginning of the nineteenth century had indicated a developing consciousness of nationality. At the Congress of Berlin several Balkan states were granted their complete or partial autonomy. Nationalistic sentiment arose within the recently formed nations, which were dissatisfied with the peace settlement in 1878. Fearing European intervention, the Sultan played one nation against the other in an effort to maintain his position and avoid further loss of territory from the outside. The states of the Balkan peninsula, in the meantime, were growing in national strength, and the Austro-Russian rivalry for the control of these small nations was becoming more acute.

In 1908 occurred the Bosnian explosion. When the Young Turk nationalist revolution broke out, Austria took occasion to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. This annexation was a direct violation of the terms of the treaty of 1878 which had placed the administration of the two provinces under Austrian control but reserved the sovereignty of Turkey over them. Little Serbia realized that hopes of incorporating her kinsmen into a greater Serbian kingdom and of securing an outlet to the sea were lost if the seizure were permitted to stand. So the Serbs were loud in their protests and appeals for aid to their big Slav brother, Russia.

Not yet recovered from the Japanese War and the subsequent civil conflict, Russia had to soothe Serbian anger. The storm



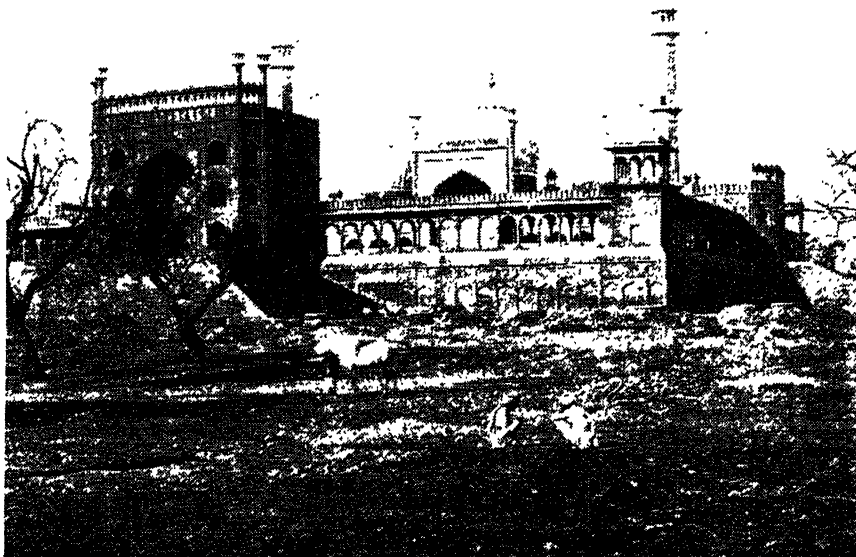
Paul's Photos, Chicago

#### BELGRADE ON THE DANUBE, CAPITAL OF SERBIA

Serbia and the other Balkan states have been referred to as the "powder-keg" of Europe, because of their constant threat to international peace.

blew over, but Serbia never forgot. The incident served to increase international hatreds. Austria, backed by Germany, became bolder. Russia felt some sympathy for Serbia, and realized that her influence over the Balkan states might not weather another refusal for aid. Serbia was inflamed, while England and France were interested spectators, not knowing just when a storm would break.

The Balkan states soon realized that the plan of the Young Turks was to dominate the people of Macedonia and Thrace, the only Balkan territories left to Turkey. These lands were coveted by the new nations for immediate expansion. They saw that cooperation in united resistance to Turkey was the best method by which to secure their objectives. The Turco-Italian War of 1911 provided a good opportunity to strike at the common enemy. The result was the formation of the Balkan League. A concerted attack upon Turkey was planned and an arrangement for division of the spoils was made. The War on Turkey began in 1912 and



Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago

THE JUMMA MUSJID IN DELHI

ferred for British occupation and erection of spheres of influence in such areas as Egypt, Persia, and Afghanistan. These buffer states protected India on the west. To protect the eastern border, Burma was seized and annexed to India after 1880.

The problems of internal order in India continued to plague Britain. No small part of the general dissatisfaction of the Indian people was due to their diversity of interest. The Moslems looked to Turkey rather than England for aid; the Hindus, to the nationalist movement for their salvation; and the Christians preferred continued British domination. Thus did their religious affiliation affect their politics. Equally important was the breakdown of the caste system. The lowest castes threatened to leave the Hindu religion which had imposed the caste system on Indian society. The struggle in India indicated that the old Oriental social order was breaking down under the influence of Western social and economic ideas.





Courtesy Methodist Book Concern

STREET SCENE IN SHANGHAI



Paul's Photos, Chicago

SCENE ALONG ONE OF TOKYO'S NUMEROUS CANALS

# IMPERIALISM INVADES THE FAR EAST

## REOPENING OF CHINA

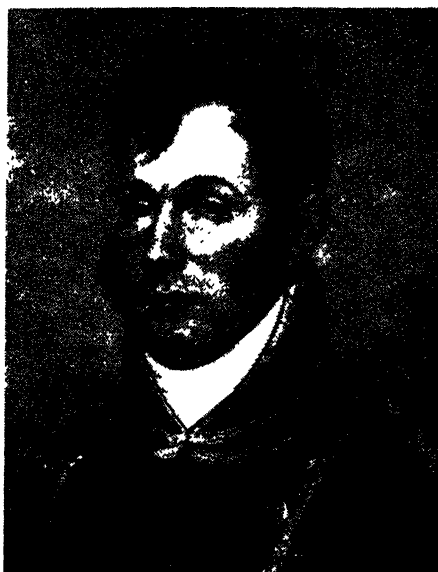
THE FAR EASTERN areas offered a more fertile field for imperial expansion than did some of the areas previously discussed. The vast population of countries such as China and Japan would furnish an excellent market for European goods. Economic gain, more than any other motive, provided the incentive for imperialism on this distant horizon.

Napoleonic wars in Europe caused English commerce in Asiatic waters to outstrip all rivals. The East India Company of London became the champion of requests by Westerners for expanding trading opportunities at Canton and at other ports. The Chinese provincial authorities resisted these requests the more vigorously because of the ever increasing supplies of opium being smuggled into the kingdom.

Missions led by Macartney in 1794, and Amherst in 1816, attempted to secure better conditions for British trade, but they were rebuffed.

When the trade monopoly of the English East India Company was rescinded in 1833, the interests of commerce in the Far East became the concern of the British government.

Upon the confiscation of a quantity of opium in 1839 and the refusal of the Chinese to make good the loss, the British withdrew to Macao. Events led to hostilities which have been named the Opium War. Peace was restored in 1842. Great Britain gained Hong Kong, which she still retains, an indemnity of \$21,000,000, equality in diplomatic treatment, establishment of a regular tariff,



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

COMMODORE OLIVER H. PERRY

and freer access to Chinese markets through the opening of five ports, including Canton and Shanghai. By this last provision, the English were performing a service for other occidental merchants as well as for themselves.

An American envoy, Caleb Cushing, negotiated an important treaty with the Chinese commissioner in 1884. This convention permitted natives to teach their language to foreigners and allowed foreign officials, instead of Chinese courts, to try civil and criminal cases involving their own citizens. This last concession is called extraterritoriality. In addition, missionaries might rent land and build churches and hospitals in treaty ports.

Soon it became apparent that the attitude of Chinese officialdom had not been altered merely because it had lost battles. Again, in 1857, war was undertaken by the English and French. For the second time, China was defeated by modern arms. Eleven more ports were opened to Western manufactures, and foreign envoys were permitted to reside in Peking, the capital. The contracting of coolie labor and the importation of opium were to be legalized and controlled, and greater freedom was given to missionary enterprise. France became the special protector of the Catholic Church in China.

Yankee clipper ships with their clouds of canvas, as well as vessels of other nations, soon frequented the treaty ports of China. Shanghai began to grow toward its present position as the world's fifth largest port.

## OPENING OF JAPAN

The Japanese archipelago lay directly in the principal route of the growing trans-Pacific traffic. American whalers had for years complained of the severe treatment meted out to shipwrecked crews by the Japanese. An American commercial mission and a naval expedition, in 1837 and 1846 respectively, failed to open relations with the islanders. Finally, in 1854, Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry combined tact with a display of Western technology and naval strength, and obtained a treaty from the *bakufu* (Japanese military government). This treaty gave an

This was a period of jealous competition and acquisition by Western nations. They did not hesitate to force agreements upon the Chinese by naval demonstrations. The construction of railroads and other public works strengthened foreign control of the revenues.

In the 1860's, Spain and France began encroachment in Tongking in the South of China; by 1874 France had become "protector" of all Annam in that region. The British simultaneously acquired Lower Burma and by 1886 annexed the upper portion of the kingdom. Thus England was in a position to gain influence in Tibet, a process becoming apparent by 1900. Russia in 1860 was awarded the Maritime Provinces on China's northern border, in return for playing the rôle of "honest broker" in the peace negotiations of that year. A decade later the tsar's men secured territorial cessions in the northwestern region of Ili, to the west of their earlier acquisition.



SUMMER PALACE, PEKING, CHINA

Gutted by the English in 1860, the palace was restored by the Empress Dowager, using naval appropriations for the purpose.

## JAPAN MATCHES ARMS AGAINST CHINA

Meanwhile the Japanese imperial government was making rapid strides at home, and by playing one nation against another was achieving diplomatic victories. The United States, Japan's best friend until the twentieth century, signed a treaty in 1878 recognizing tariff autonomy. A decade later the oriental nation secured from Mexico its first modern treaty on a basis of equality. Japan won complete administrative independence in 1911 after the abolition of all external limitations on tariff regulation. But progress in this direction was too slow for the growing Japanese confidence and ambition.

Japan was interested in Korea, that peninsula over which China had exercised a vague suzerainty since long before the sixteenth century. In 1873 Japan had been on the verge of war with the Chinese Empire over conflicting policies in Korea. The Korean court vied with that of Peking for the questionable distinction of being one of the world's most corrupt regimes. On July 23, 1894, the Japanese took advantage of China's uncertainty to depose Queen Min in Korea and establish a regency. Two days later war broke out.

At the time, the outcome of the hostilities was by no means a foregone conclusion. There had always been an awesome respect for "China's teeming millions." Missionaries viewed them all as potential converts; merchants saw in them future customers; and military experts dreaded the distant day when modern Chinese legions would shake the earth. But China's weakness soon became apparent. The Empress Dowager had recently spent naval appropriations for the reconstruction of the Summer Palace. The army was still composed of Manchu Bannermen equipped with antiquated weapons.

Japanese forces launched a smashing attack which culminated in the victory of Pingyang and the defeat of the Chinese navy on the Yalu River. The war dragged on, however, with Japanese overrunning part of southern Manchuria and investing Talienwan (now Dairen) and Port Arthur. At the latter place the populace was massacred on a large scale.

As a result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April, 1895), China's humiliation was clear to the world. The once powerful empire was forced to recognize the independence of Korea, to pay an enormous indemnity, and to cede to Japan the Liaotung peninsula, Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands. Japan herself was economically shaken by the war, and the worst fears of her statesmen were realized when notes from Russia, Germany, and France obliged her to relinquish claims to the Liaotung Peninsula in exchange for an addition to the indemnity. The Japanese accepted this reversal with bitter calm, resolving upon a policy of "watchful waiting" and careful planning of their future diplomacy.

### *BREAKUP OF CHINA*

Aside from military inferiority in 1894-1895, China had to borrow further from foreign banks in order to pay the price of defeat. Now, as the ancient Chinese Empire began to crumble, every Western power attempted to get a share, and only mutual jealousies prevented the whole of China from being divided into spheres of influence. There was a scramble for railway rights, money loans, and sundry concessions. France started new competition by securing railway privileges in Yunnan, a southern province.

Germany, imitating the French reputation as a protector of Christians, took advantage of the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung to demand a ninety-nine year lease of Kiaochow and an area of fifty kilometers around that port. In the same month (March 1898) Russia was granted a twenty-five year lease of Port Arthur and the tip of Liaotung Peninsula, much to the irritation of Japan, which had been forced to return this region to China only four years earlier. In April, France occupied Kwangchowan, and in June and July, Great Britain enlarged her hold on the Kowloon Peninsula opposite Hong Kong and raised the Union Jack over Weihaiwei, a port across the gulf from Port Arthur.

The United States, which as yet had not completely occupied all of its available land, was the only great nation which made no

territorial capital out of China's predicament. Her big-brother attitude toward China continued and, with some misgivings, toward Japan. Nevertheless, the United States at this time became an imperialistic Pacific power by acquiring the Philippines during the war against Spain. Secretary of State John Hay proposed in 1898 the Open Door doctrine of equal economic opportunity and maintenance of the territorial and political integrity of China. A satisfactory balance of interests having been temporarily achieved, Japan and the European powers subscribed to this agreement.

### *THE BOXER REBELLION*

Thus was China "saved" from the outside, but it was only natural that the degradation of Manchu power would result in anti-foreignism and in plots against the dynasty from the inside. Many pre-existing secret societies redoubled activity, and Tzu Hsi, the Empress Dowager, was clever enough to divert popular antipathy from the administration to the "barbarians." Finally, in 1900, the wave of violence called the Boxer Rebellion engulfed those aliens living in various parts of China. An allied force relieved foreigners in Peking and imposed a humiliating peace upon China. The government was forced to pay an excessive indemnity, reconstruct missionary property, inaugurate a ministry of foreign affairs at Peking, and permit a fortifiable legation quarter at the capital. Severe judicial and customs arrangements were dictated.

### *CHINA BECOMES A REPUBLIC*

Rulers of China, especially the wily old dowager, Tzu Hsi, realized that the Manchu dynasty was in sore need of rejuvenation. Most of the ensuing reforms were either too hurried or ill advised. The ancient system of examinations was abolished, and a state apparatus of instruction, overlooking widespread missionary education, was instituted. Two decrees were issued with the purpose of more thoroughly assimilating the Manchus in the body politic. Provision was made for the suppression of opium production and consumption within ten years. A foreign-language college was

side of the Allies was at first discouraged by Japan, who opposed a strongly equipped Asiatic army which might rival her own. Only in 1917 did the Chinese republic follow the United States into war against the Central Powers, and its aid consisted for the most part in furnishing Chinese coolies for manual labor in France.

The significance of the Chinese revolution should not be either neglected or overemphasized. It was to be expected that the Chinese would not make a complete break with their imperial past, and yet the political tradition of the people was not unmixed with a democracy which contributed some foundation for a new era, born in confusion, confronted by aggression, but possibly achieving eventual control and renaissance.

### *ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE*

While China was becoming somewhat more democratic, though at the same time more confused and weakened, Japan was becoming more autocratic, centralized, and stronger. In the latter half of the nineteenth century England and Japan began to regard Russia as a common enemy. At first they saw no advantage in an alliance, but the tsar's continual search for a warm-water port brought the two island governments to act together. The first Russo-Japanese friction, aside from the growing pressure of Russia in the north since the eighteenth century, came in Korea where agents of both nations competed for concessions and royal favor. In 1896-1897 the situation was somewhat eased by Russian withdrawal from Korea for the consolidation of her interests in other parts of China.

By the year 1901, however, Russian agents were again active in South Manchuria and in Korea. The situation became critical in 1902 when Russian troops, dispatched during the Boxer trouble, were not withdrawn as agreed. Japan, Great Britain, and other recent allies protested in vain to St. Petersburg. Finally on January 30, 1902, an Anglo-Japanese alliance was signed recognizing that Great Britain's principal interests lay in China while virtually a free hand was accorded Japan in developing her "peculiar" interests in Korea. If either of these powers were attacked by two or more powers, the other would give assistance. Theodore Roose-



velt's administration practically committed the United States as a silent partner to this pact. Thus fortified, Japan maintained a positive policy and by February 10, 1904, war had developed between the empires of Japan and Russia.

## *RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR*

In this Russo-Japanese war the Russian fleet was quickly bottled up in Port Arthur which, after a bloody siege, capitulated on the first day of 1905. Nipponese land forces on the Korean peninsula met with even more rapid triumphs, but the abundant resources of Russia might well have told in the end had not communications broken down and had not revolts disturbed the tsar's domains. Both countries accepted President Roosevelt's proposed mediation, and the treaty was consummated at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in September, 1905. Although parts of it were unsatisfactory to Japan, the treaty clearly indicated that there was now another great power with which to reckon in the Far East. Japan's paramount position in Korea was recognized, and she acquired the Russian rights to Port Arthur, the tip of the Liaotung peninsula, the southern half of Sakhalin, and the railroad connecting Port Arthur with Changchun.

Until delimitation was agreed upon, South Manchuria, in spite of the Portsmouth guaranty of China's sovereignty and the Open Door, became the arena of Russo-Japanese conflicting interests. From 1905 until the World War, the Japanese developed remarkably their industries, merchant marine, and military machine. Korea was annexed outright in 1910, and further penetration of southern Manchuria was pushed chiefly by the South Manchuria Railway and its affiliates.

By 1905 the renewal and strengthening of the Anglo-Japanese alliance had safeguarded Japan against a Russian war of revenge. Then a series of treaties, secret and open, actually cemented a new understanding with Russia. A second renewal of the agreement with England was signed in 1912 and bolstered the latter against the saber-rattling of Emperor William II. It also set the stage for Japanese participation with the Allies in the World War.

*FRANCE IN INDO-CHINA*

To compensate for their loss of India, the French imperialists had moved further eastward into the large peninsula which juts out from southeastern China. A foothold had been obtained in this area by France during the reign of Louis XIV but little more was done during the next hundred years. Concerted efforts in this direction were not made until, in the reign of Napoleon III, French admirals took matters into their own hands. A combined Franco-Spanish naval expedition set out in 1857 to avenge the death of a missionary. The French forced the emperor of Annam to accept a treaty granting to them three provinces of Cochin China and certain commercial privileges. Murder of Christian missionaries in the kingdom of Cambodia to the north furnished the necessary pretext for another French advance, and the ruler of that territory was forced to grant concessions. France now had Cochin China and Cambodia, forming a continuous compact block of territory in the southeastern tip of the peninsula.

Some complications arose between France and China, with the result that a war ensued between those two nations in the 1880's. France exacted concessions in the form of reduced tariffs and recognition of rights to certain sections. Thus France secured a rather large portion of the Indo-China peninsula. French Indo-China is populous, has fertile soil, with a generous endowment of natural resources. In commercial returns to France, it is, of all French colonies, second to Algeria.

*THE PACIFIC ISLANDS*

The numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean, with their widely divergent cultures, furnished another arena for the operation of nineteenth-century imperialism. Prior to that time, many of the islands had been overrun or conquered by Asiatic peoples, but nothing substantial had been done in the way of economic development.

The islands now composing the East Indies group had been the goal for which European nations strove in the early period of discovery and exploration. The spices of this region had a wide de-



THE PURA SATRIA, BUILT OF BRICKS ON THE ISLAND OF BALI, JAVA,  
DUTCH EAST INDIES

The rich spice islands of the East Indies have been objects of intense rivalry among the European nations with colonial ambitions.

mand in Europe. The Dutch began a systematic exploitation of the islands following the expulsion of the Portuguese by the Dutch East India Company during the seventeenth century. The islands were lost during the Napoleonic wars, but they were returned to Holland in 1818. As was so often the case, the area was ruled first by a commercial company and later passed under direct control of the home government. The Dutch East Indies today comprise an area almost sixty times that of Holland.

Some schools have been erected and the natives are given the rudiments of an education. However, in most of these areas it is thought unwise to educate the native population too well, lest they acquire independent ideas. The Dutch have actually tried to keep the islanders from becoming too Europeanized.

*BRITISH ACTIVITY IN THE PACIFIC*

The Pacific islands did not attract British attention until the nineteenth century. Some of her explorers had touched several of the larger islands, claiming them for England. As a matter of fact, most of the islands—even Australia and New Zealand—were considered of little value.

The period of aggressive imperialism in the Pacific began about 1870, and was often ushered in unconsciously by missionaries who, in their efforts to civilize the natives, were sometimes slain. Such an atrocity would furnish the necessary incident for punishing the offending natives by forcing them to concessions or by actually taking their territory from them. Traders were protected and avenged in about the same manner. Britain annexed the Fiji Islands in 1874. Shortly afterward Borneo and Papua, two large islands north of Australia, were invaded by the British; North Borneo was annexed while Papua was divided among several powers.

In the last years of the century there developed considerable international rivalry for coaling stations among these islands of the Pacific area, and it seemed as though the first European nation to land on an island took possession and claimed ownership.

Germany had become interested in the Pacific islands for commercial reasons, a trading station having been established in the Samoan island group. Commercial companies were organized and German imperialism made a debut in the Pacific. Part of New Guinea was annexed, and so were other small islands in the vicinity.

In the Samoa Islands, Germany encountered as her two strong rivals the United States and Great Britain. Each nation had secured certain privileges and refused to give ground. A crisis was reached in 1889 when Germany was about to take the islands by force. England and America also had warships in the area, but the hand of fate prevented battle, for a hurricane separated the battleships. Within a short time a three-party agreement for supervision of the islands was reached. Britain withdrew in 1899, leaving Germany and the United States to divide the territory.

French imperialists had little success, if any, in the Pacific, although a few islands have been acquired, among which may be mentioned New Caledonia, New Hebrides, and Tahiti.



Courtesy Canadian National Railways

FISHING BOATS IN THE HARBOR AT KETCHIKAN, ALASKA

# AMERICA COMPETES FOR LAND AND MARKETS

## GROWTH OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

BY THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1783, the United States reached westward as far as the Mississippi River. A young energetic nation had come to realize its possibilities. From that time on there was a continuous expansion movement westward. The United States was destined to control the territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was a natural and logical expansion in the minds of American leaders.

The Louisiana Purchase, in 1803, exerted considerable influence upon the young nation, which was rapidly developing an expansion complex, sometimes defined as "manifest destiny." The northern provinces of Mexico were acquired by the United States as a result of the Mexican War.

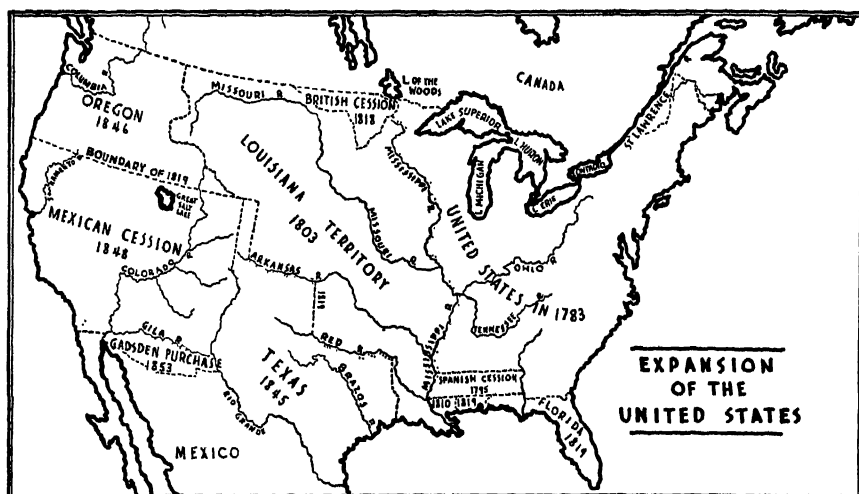
The war against Mexico (1846) gave the United States territory bordering upon the Pacific. With the battle cry of "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight," the Americans were stubborn and insistent enough to gain the Oregon Territory by an agreement with Great Britain. Only a small strip of land remained to be acquired before continental United States would make a complete picture for the map-makers. This was done



Acme photo

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

Secretary of State after the Civil War. Seward thought the United States should control the whole North American continent and, with this in mind, brought about the purchase of Alaska and demanded Canada of England as compensation for the "Alabama Claims."



when the Americans paid a liberal sum for the minute Gadsden Purchase along the present southern boundary of the state of New Mexico.

### "SEWARD'S FOLLY"—THE ALASKAN PURCHASE

The first territorial acquisition by the United States beyond its regular boundaries was Alaska, purchased in 1867. Secretary of State William Seward was an avowed expansionist, and a sincere believer in "manifest destiny." He thought that the United States should control the entire North American continent with a national capital at Mexico City. Seward believed that Alaska would furnish another door on the Pacific through which to enter the Far East, where the trading possibilities were known but not extensively exploited. Seward's wisdom was borne out, for Alaska's resources are worth many times its purchase price of \$7,200,000.

### ANNEXATION OF HAWAII

In this same post-Civil War decade, the Hawaiian Islands were an object of American interest. Formerly used as a whaling station and a convenient rendezvous for trading expeditions into the Pa-

cific area, it was discovered that the islands could produce sugar on a large scale. American sugar planters became numerous, and in 1875 they signed a treaty with the United States by which Hawaiian sugar was admitted free of duty into the United States ports.

About ten years later, the United States was granted the right to maintain a naval station on the islands and virtually controlled the economic and political system. Foreign capitalists organized a government under Sanford B. Dole, a son of an American missionary living there. The support of the American sugar planters and the presence of United States marines made possible the establishment of a government. A treaty providing for annexation by the United States was signed in 1893, but, when President Cleveland came into office, he refused to carry it out. Cleveland's successor, McKinley, favored annexation, especially when acquisi-



Paul's Photos, Chicago

AIR VIEW OF HONOLULU, HAWAII



tion of the Philippines added to the strategical value of the Hawaiian group. The islands were annexed in 1898. Investment of American capital and exploitation of the natives continued and were mainly responsible for the economic development of the islands. The penetration and subsequent annexation of Hawaii was a true stroke of expansion.

## WAR WITH SPAIN

Interest in the annexation of Cuba had almost become a tradition in the United States since colonial times. The United States for strategical reasons could not allow another nation to acquire Cuba. Americans preferred to see a weak nation like Spain in control, but in case of Spanish withdrawal they felt that the United States should assume the responsibility.

Enterprising Americans had seen the opportunities for trade. Cuba was ridden with internal disorder, in spite of Spain's promises. American sugar and tobacco interests demanded that political stability be maintained on the island.

A war for Cuban independence broke out in 1895. The cruelty inflicted upon the natives by the Spanish generals made excellent newspaper headlines in the growing "yellow" dailies in the United

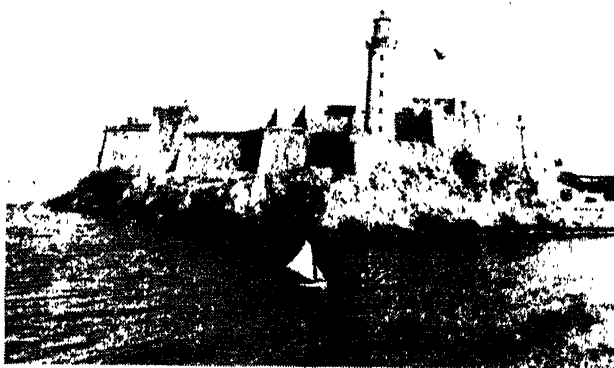


Photo from Ewing Galloway, New York

### MORRO CASTLE, HAVANA, CUBA

Built by Spaniards when they colonized the island, this fortress guards the harbor in which the battleship *Maine* was sunk—the event which aided in precipitating the Spanish-American war.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

## MANILA FROM THE AIR

The Spanish fleet was defeated in Manila Bay by the United States navy under Admiral Dewey.

States. The Cuban natives appealed for help to the United States, where they maintained an active propaganda machine.

The blowing-up of the United States battleship *Maine*, in Havana harbor, stirred American spirit to a higher pitch. McKinley could no longer withstand the pressure of propaganda and public sentiment, and the United States declared war (April, 1898). The American navy was ready, having been built up by secretaries of that department for over a decade, while the army, on the other hand, was not prepared to engage in a major conflict.

The war itself was short-lived, lasting but three months. The Spanish Pacific fleet was defeated by Admiral Dewey of the United States Navy, at Manila in the Philippine Islands. The Spanish West Indies fleet was defeated, and the American troops were victorious in the land battles in Cuba and Porto Rico. It was in the land fighting in Cuba that Theodore Roosevelt distinguished himself while serving as commander of the "Rough Riders."

In the treaty, Spain gave up Puerto Rico to the United States, while Cuba was given independence. The United States took over the Philippines until they should be ready for independence, and Spain was given \$20,000,000. It took many times that amount to pacify the natives and set up a stable government in the islands. William H. Taft was appointed the first civil governor. Native participation in government gradually increased, and by the Jones Act of 1916 the Filipinos were given a voice in their affairs.

### *CIVILIZING MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES*

It may be truthfully said that American imperialism has been of benefit to the Philippines. The "civilizing mission" of the American nation has been fulfilled to a great degree in that spot on the globe. Modern buildings, railroads, and schools adorn the islands where before a semi-jungle existed. The desire for independence by the Filipinos was the most serious problem to be faced by the United States and was not solved until after the World War. Of course, American interests have not been primarily altruistic; capitalists have made extensive investments in the islands and have garnered handsome profits.

Hawaii, Guam, and Wake Island also entered into American policy in the Pacific. The Hawaiian group was of importance from an economic point of view as well as being one of the strongest naval bases of the United States. Aside from Hawaii and the Philippines, the Pacific islands owned by the United States were maintained mostly for strategic reasons. With these possessions, most of them dating from the Spanish War, the United States has become an imperial power, with world-wide interests.

### *VENEZUELA DEFENDED AGAINST EUROPEAN POWERS*

Following the revolt of the Spanish-American colonies, the United States enunciated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. This provided a barrier to European expansion on the American continents. It was a move in the direction of self-defense by the United States, by keeping foreign intruders from establishing menacing strongholds on the western continents.

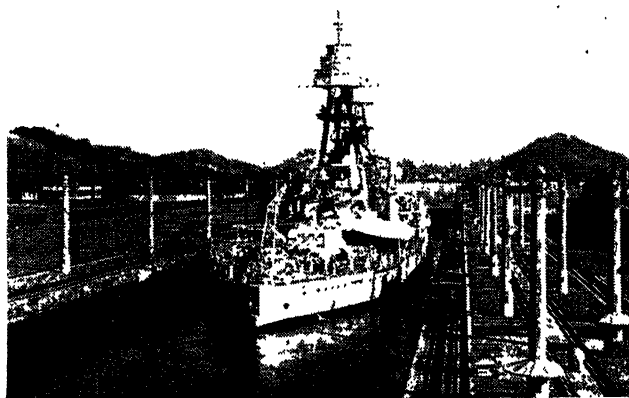
In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Great Britain attempted to extend the boundaries of British Guiana at the expense of Venezuela, situated in the northeastern part of South America. Britain's action at the expense of a weak neighbor brought forth a forceful declaration by the United States. Secretary of State Olney told Britain that the United States was practically sovereign on the continent. It was a most vigorous interpretation and extension of the Monroe Doctrine. Britain, after some delay, consented to arbitrate the matter.

Following the opening of the twentieth century, Venezuela was again faced with the possibility of foreign intrusion. She owed money to Germany, Italy, and Great Britain. The last two limited their action to naval demonstrations, but Germany indicated that it might use the opportunity to acquire holdings in South America. If Venezuela could not pay, Germany would take land as compensation. But the United States, under Theodore Roosevelt, warned the Kaiser that the American navy was prepared to preserve Venezuela's territorial integrity. The Germans departed, and the matter was peacefully settled.

### *COLOMBIA'S LOSS OF PANAMA*

American imperialism next turned in a positive direction in the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone (1900-1903). The United States had wanted an isthmian canal for over fifty years. At the turn of the nineteenth century, there seemed to be an opportunity to realize this ambition. Great Britain enjoyed, by treaty rights, the privilege of joint ownership and joint control. Because of her command of the sea, joint control would have meant English control. Finally in 1901, after repeated urgings, England in a new treaty agreed to cancellation of the joint provisions, and the United States was left to carry on the work herself.

Colombia, of which Panama was part, refused to sell canal rights to the United States. Native politicians hoped to make an additional profit upon the expiration of the contract given the French company which had made an unsuccessful attempt to dig a canal. Panama revolted, and American troops, taking a far from neutral attitude under Roosevelt's direction, prevented Colombia from putting down the insurrection. Panama declared its inde-



THE PANAMA CANAL (MIRAFLORES LOCKS)

The Panama Canal, joining the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, has great strategic and commercial importance.

pendence and made a treaty with the United States, selling a perpetual lease of the canal zone for \$10,000,000 plus an annual payment of \$250,000. An American treaty with Colombia had been ignored. Work was begun in 1907, and the canal was completed in 1914. Theodore Roosevelt wanted the canal primarily because of its strategic value. Although later admitting that he took Panama, he had previously justified his action on the ground that such a project would benefit the world in general.

During the canal negotiations Roosevelt announced his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. It claimed for the United States the right to intervene whenever one of the Latin-American nations was faced with the problem of internal discord and disorganization. Roosevelt believed that, unless the United States was willing to assume this responsibility, it had no right to prohibit Europeans from protecting their rights in America.

### *THE ROOSEVELT COROLLARY*

The corollary was itself extended in this first decade of the twentieth century, when some of the Latin-American countries were in financial difficulties. Santo Domingo, an island republic in the Caribbean, had difficulty in meeting foreign debts. It was

The economic liberalism of the early part of the century was changing. Free trade was giving way to economic nationalism. Tariffs, bounties, and quotas were used to protect and foster national industry and commerce. The reason for this shift was the increasing industrialization of the European countries. Big Business demanded that national interests be made synonymous with the advancement of industrial welfare.

The new nationalism was one of the causes of imperialism—the domination of non-European peoples by the European nations. Nationalism was becoming international in its influence and scope.

### MILITARISM

Another indication of the changing spirit could be seen in militarism. Before 1793 armies were, in the main, composed of professional, volunteer soldiers. After that date, conscript armies became more numerous. Universal, compulsory military training made possible the huge modern armies.

The schools were learning to sing a new hymn of hate. Text-books such as those of Treitschke preached the new gospel of national hatred. In France, Maurice Barrès encouraged the hatred of Germany, while Germany taught her sons to distrust France. Nationalism meant not only love of fatherland, but also dislike for the foreigner.

The subject of national pride assumed an important role in international affairs. When a conflict arose between two nations, neither would yield for fear of losing "face." Thus unnecessary friction was generated. The "incidents" which preceded the Great War provide innumerable instances of the perverse influence of national pride.

### THE HAVE-NOT NATIONS

The nations, such as Germany and Italy, which were left out of the imperialistic race felt that they had been seriously mistreated, and constituted another source of national friction. No European nation could feel itself a power without a colonial empire to bolster its national esteem. Italy spent billions of lire conquering the barren wastes of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, all for the

sake of national prestige. Under Bismarck's leadership, Germany became a colonial power. Other secondary powers spent more on colonies than they received from them.

Nationalism, which had come into the pages of history as a factor of liberalism, had become an agency of destruction. Early nationalism was a proponent of international amity; the latter-day nationalism, of international hatred. Nationalism became the political religion of Europe. All school studies were saturated with its extreme emphasis. Turkey, France, Italy, Germany, and other countries trained their children to believe in national superiority. The few attempts at curbing rampant nationalism, such as the Hague Conference and other international assemblies, were ineffectual.

## *IMPERIALISM*

The effects of imperialism were not confined to overseas territories, but were very evident upon Europe itself. Most nations under the impetus of an intense nationalistic spirit strove to build up an empire which would serve, among other things, to enhance their power and prestige upon the European continent. Regardless of relative size and strength, each nation strove for "a place in the sun." In other words, an impressive empire was a requisite for greatness. The diplomatic success of one nation at the expense or embarrassment of another often produced an extremely tense situation, thus giving rise to international rivalries and jealousies. The so-called "dangerous incidents," of which the Balkan and Moroccan crises are excellent examples, illustrate this fact.

It was in the years just preceding the World War that economic competition became acute. With the speeding-up process of industry, it was almost inevitable that economic competition among the various nations of Europe would be intensified. Each country desired to remain as self-sufficient as possible, trading for the most part with its own colonies, and at the same time erecting tariff barriers to shut out foreign goods. This great rivalry for the domination of foreign markets also jeopardized the peace of the world.

## ENHANCED MILITARISM

Within each nation, at this same time, a highly efficient military machine was being developed. Colonies, in many cases, had to be acquired by the use of military force. Then, to protect such colonies, a large navy was required. Competition in armaments arose in part as a result of this great wave of economic imperialism.

Imperialistic rivalries were brought to a near crisis when several European nations cast longing eyes toward the Near East. As Germany began her drive to the eastward, the other powers kept a close watch. Austria-Hungary continued her efforts to dominate the Balkans, but at the expense of incurring Russian and Serbian animosity. England and France, for strategic reasons, opposed any plan whereby one nation or an allied group should be allowed domination of this coveted area. Each nation watched the other suspiciously. It seemed as though certain ones were restraining themselves against their will. Two hostile camps were pitched for battle even before the actual outbreak occurred. So strained was the situation that any minor indignity or atrocity threatened an irruption which would involve all Europe. The intricate system of alliances and secret agreements made it almost certain that a war would be widespread.

Thus imperialism had much to do with the creation of a very tense situation. Sportsmanship and international ethics were scarcely considered in the contest among nations. No European power was really satisfied with what it had, for each wished to extend its economic and political influence still farther. Such an acute stage had been reached that a slight or sudden move by one of the nations in the direction of an enlarged imperialist policy was likely to create a new crisis. The war feeling was everywhere dominant. This psychological element cannot be too strongly emphasized. Thus, in a sense, imperialism, bolstered up by militarism, had set nations on a fighting edge.

## SYNDICALISM IN FRANCE

While English liberalism was continuing the gradual growth which had characterized it for almost a century, liberal groups on the Continent were experiencing greater difficulties and were





Acme photo

**JEAN JAURES**

French Socialist who united forces with Guesde in 1905. He was assassinated on the eve of French mobilization, July 31, 1914.



Courtesy The Chicago Public Library

**CAPTAIN ALFRED DREYFUS**

Innocent victim of an espionage plot in 1893, he was sentenced to Devil's Island. He was released in 1906.

working toward more radical ends. The bloody suppression of the Paris Commune had struck the progress of French Socialism a hard blow. The ablest leaders were killed or exiled, and the laws against them hampered any serious reorganization of the party. However, feelings ran high concerning the methods used in suppressing the Commune, and it was not long before the popular sentiment of the people was manifested in a new Socialist party.

But the leaders had taken new counsels in their exile, and had resolved to take direct action, as they called it, rather than to trust too strongly in political measures to effect a revolution. Strongly influential in this movement was Georges Sorel, who formulated the theory of what is called Syndicalism.

Trade unions, legalized in 1884, formed themselves into a large union in 1895, called the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, and by merging with the system of labor employment agencies, in 1902, the Syndicalist movement was formed. Briefly, Syndicalism holds that political action is futile in a bourgeois-controlled state and that war on the capitalists is the only way to bring about

revolution. Therefore, the capitalists should be urged to withdraw from the field as quickly as possible, and, if they would not withdraw, they should be forced to go by acts of violence. Sabotage, the injury of machinery or delay of production, was to be the chief weapon, with the general strike as a last resort. The general strike was to be a complete cessation of work on the part of all workers, thus paralyzing the industry of the entire country. Disease and starvation would finally compel the capitalists to capitulate.

Syndicalism had a strong effect on Socialism, making it more aggressive, and at the same time more progressive. Those Socialists who favored political methods instead of a long and possibly annihilating class war supported a less reactionary program. Two leaders, Jean Jaurès and Jules Guesde, who favored slightly different interpretations of the Marxian theory, united their forces in 1905. Socialism of the less violent type made great progress in France, electing almost one-fifth of the Chamber of Deputies by 1914.

### *BOULANGER AND DREYFUS INCIDENTS*

Opposition served to infuriate the monarchists, who attempted by more or less secret means to inflame the people against the Republicans. General Boulanger, a popular soldier, appeared for a time to threaten the government, but he finally succumbed to panic and, when charges were preferred against him, fled the country. This attempted usurpation strengthened the Republican party. The disaffection of the army was illustrated by the trial of Dreyfus, a Jew, whom the monarchial elements accused of treason. He was disgraced for a while, but finally cleared of the charges through the efforts of Émile Zola and Colonel Picquart of the French Intelligence Service.

The Anti-clericalism which the Republicans had made one of their strong points in 1879 lingered throughout most of French politics up to the war. The issue had been established by Léon Gambetta, of the middle-class party, and revolved about the unwillingness of the taxpayers to support a church which taught doctrines inimical to their political sentiments. The clergy, it

cannot be disputed, was strongly monarchial in sympathy and figured largely—though unobtrusively—in the Boulanger and Dreyfus incidents.

## CHURCH AND STATE

The Concordat of 1801, established between the Church and Napoleon I, provided that the state would pay the salaries of the clergy, while all ecclesiastical appointments would be made with the approval of the state. Thus the Church and state were inseparable. The anti-clerical movement resulted in several changes. In 1886 primary education was made compulsory and public schools were set up, free from religious control, and supported by the state.

For many years Anti-clericalism served to unite the various republican and lower middle-class elements, but, with the passage of laws which struck at unauthorized religious bodies, came the final separation of Church and state in 1905. The clergy were given some slight concessions, which enabled them to keep active, but their political power was broken.

With their influential enemies out of the way, the various republican elements could afford to quarrel, and their bloc became disrupted. Thus arose some of the power of the Socialists. But the World War, which affected all Socialism adversely, soon overwhelmed French Socialists who were as nationalistic as other party groups when the crisis came.

## SOCIALISM IN GERMANY

The formation of the German Empire in 1871 was an important new fact for the Great Powers to contemplate. Chancellor Bismarck was able to keep the nation happy and unified by subordinating class interests as much as possible to national interests. He accomplished this end by granting to each class a certain amount of privilege or ameliorating legislation, while keeping them all subordinate to his main policy. It cannot be denied that a large share of Bismarck's progressiveness was forced upon him; for, as a statesman and as a Junker, he had little admiration for either the middle class or the proletariat.



AUGUST BEBEL

Early leader of socialists in Germany who collaborated with the Liebknechts.



KARL LIEBKNECHT

Son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, who ably carried on his father's work in the Socialist party.

The formation of a strong Socialist party in Germany explains why Bismarck aided the workers so materially. The Socialist party was stronger in Germany than in any other nation, not excepting France, and though meeting with bitter opposition from the Chancellor, it flourished and agitated for radical measures.

The formation of the Socialist party in Germany was due largely to the efforts and personality of Ferdinand Lassalle, and the co-operation of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel. Lassalle had a wide success in northern Germany, forming a party in 1863 which was called the General Workingmen's Association of Germany.

Southern Germany was also becoming socialist-minded under the tutelage of Wilhelm Liebknecht and, a little later, August Bebel. These men were in touch with Marx through the First International, and carried out many of his policies. They were bitter and resentful of Lassalle's party, though they had the same aims, and for a time there was distinct antagonism between them. Finally, however, in 1875 they came together to form a united party, called the Social Democratic Party of Germany.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

#### WILLIAM I OF GERMANY

During the reign of William I, Bismarck was forced to make concessions to the Socialists.

### *SOCIALIST PROGRAM*

The platform of this party was in general Marxian, though in many particulars it deviated from that dogmatic standard. State ownership of the means of production was to be accomplished through extending individual rights and privileges which eventually would result in political supremacy for Socialists. Freedom

of the press, freedom of person from arbitrary arrest, freedom of assembly, free education, freedom to form unions, and universal suffrage were some of their demands. Soon they were able to elect members to the Reichstag, and inevitably they encountered the opposition of the most influential man in Germany.

Bismarck had long been alarmed at the spread of doctrines so contrary to his program, and in 1878 he took advantage of an attempt on the life of the emperor to pass laws aiming at the extinction of German Socialism. A law which was intended to prevent all open expression of socialistic opinion or doctrine was passed immediately, with a penalty of arrest and exile for those who broke it. Martial law was invoked against the Socialists. The measure provided that it was to be in force for four years, and was re-enacted in 1882 and 1886.

The Socialists, notwithstanding, continued to spread their doctrines. Although many of their papers and magazines were suppressed, others, smuggled into the country, took their place. Where one Socialist was arrested and exiled, two more arose. They continued vigorously to denounce working conditions in the empire, and, aided by a depression, rallied more converts than ever before to their cause.

Bismarck, clever diplomat that he was, turned to methods more practical than those he had used previously. In the decade of the 1880's, he put through several pieces of social and labor legislation. To be sure, the workers paid for their own insurance and the middle class, troubled very little by pressure on their pocket-books to finance social measures, offered no serious opposition. Bismarck was able to retard the growth of Socialism by aiding the industrialists and merchants with high tariff barriers which seemed to improve the economic status of the country.

### *FALL OF BISMARCK*

Nevertheless, there remained a strong Socialist party in Germany. When William II ascended the throne in 1888, he resented Bismarck's leadership. The Iron Chancellor was compelled to resign in 1890, and William II attempted to deal with the Socialists in his own way. His early policy included social legislation planned

to undermine the leadership of prominent Socialists. This purpose was defeated by his relaxation of the decrees against socialistic propaganda. The Socialist party became influential in the Reichstag before the World War, and, although it had opposed war as a method of settling international disputes, it offered no objection to the invasion of Belgium.



EDWARD VII OF ENGLAND

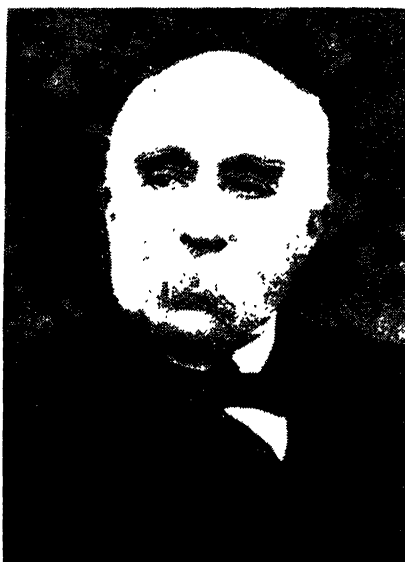
Edward was friendly toward France, and in 1904 the "Entente Cordiale" came into being, settling existing differences between the two nations.

# WAR COMES TO THE WORLD

## INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN 1906

THE GREATEST TRAGEDY in modern history is the failure of man to substitute right for might in international relations. The advance of civilization has in reality increased the dominance of might. One wonders why men still resort to weapons to settle disputes between nations, when peaceful means are available. A study of Europe's condition in 1906 helps us to answer the question. There existed a feeling among the nations that it was dishonorable to submit to any form of outside control. In addition there were economic and imperialistic rivalries.

This ill-feeling was increased by the revival of the old mercantilism which taught that each nation must protect and promote the economic interests of its own citizens, even by force if that should be necessary. Further, each was eager to gain as much power as possible to gratify its nationalistic pride. It was inevitable, therefore, that fear and hatred should permeate Europe.



GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

Clemenceau, popularly known as "the Tiger," was noted for his demand for revenge on Germany for the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. He led France into an alliance with Russia that looked forward to concerted action against Germany.

## FORMATION OF ALLIANCES

With the certainty fixed in their minds that this clash of interests would ultimately result in war, the statesmen of the various countries of Europe looked about them for allies. Their negotiations were secret, and the masses of the people never knew when or why they might be plunged into a war to aid an ally. Through this secret diplomacy Europe became divided into the two camps of Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.



The Triple Alliance was constructed through the crafty diplomacy of the great German, Bismarck. In 1879 he concluded a treaty with Austria, and in 1882 Italy joined to make a triple alliance. Russia, too, signed a secret treaty of alliance, and England was friendly, though not officially allied. France stood alone, faced by this formidable combination. Then Bismarck was dismissed in 1890. Almost immediately Germany's position weakened. The young kaiser failed to renew the Russian alliance. The tsar succumbed to the blandishments of France, and in 1892 became her ally. In 1904, England signed a secret agreement, or *entente*, with France, which was almost as binding as a formal alliance. Three years later England made a similar agreement with Russia. So came into existence the Triple Entente.

### TESTS OF THE ALLIANCE SYSTEM

The balance of power between the two systems seemed to be even. True, Italy had made a secret bargain with France in 1902, but Germany's military power more than made up for this maneuver. Neither side was certain that it could defeat the other; so there was much nervousness and tension. Each group believed it necessary to keep up with the opposing one by continually increasing armaments.

In such a charged atmosphere the slightest spark could set off the explosion. Four times a dangerous crisis arose. Each time it was settled, but each was more serious than its predecessor, and each tested the strength of the alliance system. The Algeciras incident in Morocco in 1906, the second Morocco crisis in 1911, and the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, all served not only to point to the catastrophe to come, but also played their part in preparing the way, for they intensified the spirit of hatred and rivalry.

In the eight years that had intervened between the first Moroccan crisis and the apparent settling of the Balkan struggles, the danger of a war between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente was constant. Yet it had always been avoided. To the optimists this seemed to indicate that such a war would never come. As the bells tolled the end of 1913, those who saw only the surface

claimed that the balance of power was so even that war could not happen. Also, they believed that the causes for international ill-will had been removed. Germany, eager for her "place in the sun," seemed satisfied with her gains in Africa and Turkey. France had achieved her aim in Morocco. The Balkans had quieted down. International tribunals of peace had been created.

It was only the lull before the storm. Actually, the European powers were feverishly preparing for war. Millions of dollars were being poured into weapons of death, for discerning statesmen knew that war would come in the very near future. Probably, it would result from the clash of Teuton and Slav in the south-eastern corner of Europe.

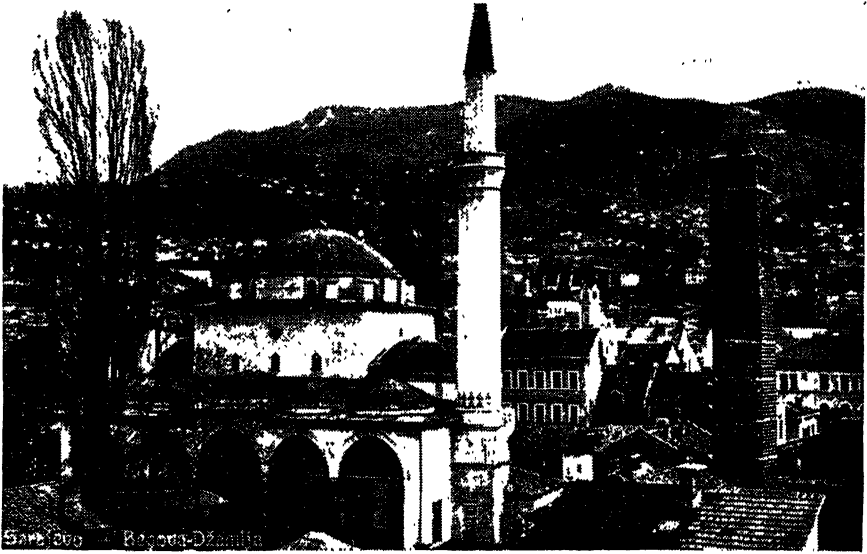
### *THE DANGER SPOT IN EUROPE*

The Balkans have been well termed the "powder keg" of Europe. Inhabited by turbulent and violent people of many nationalities, they were a favorite field for rivalries between Austria, Germany, and Russia in the long twilight of the Ottoman Empire.

Russia's primary interest in this region was to keep open the Straits of the Bosphorus, for if they were closed Russian trade and shipping would be bottled up in the Black Sea. So the tsar's empire cultivated friendship with the small Balkan nations, whose Slavic blood made them closely akin to Russia.

German and Austrian designs in this region were political and economic. Austria looked forward to controlling the entire peninsula. By putting the Balkans under the hegemony of the Triple Alliance powers, and with the friendship of Turkey, Germany and Austria would hold a position of advantage over Russia and could dominate central Europe. Accordingly, Germany made overtures to Turkey, and obtained the concession of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway.

The most difficult obstacle in the way of German-Austrian success was Serbia. Occupying a key position on the line of the proposed railway from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, she forestalled all attempts to create German hegemony over the Balkans. Either German-Austrian plans must be given up, or Serbian opposition must be destroyed.



#### SARAJEVO, SERBIA

The assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, which occurred in this little Balkan city, was the spark that touched off the World War.

Thus, the two alliance systems faced each other, with the little Balkan nation of Serbia the focal point of discord. Only a concerted effort by the nations of Europe could avert immediate war.

#### SUMMER—1914

The pistol shots of a Bosnian assassin produced the crisis. Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria and his commoner wife were visiting the Bosnian city of Sarajevo. Heir to the throne of the Hapsburgs, Francis Ferdinand was a symbol of the tyranny so hated by all Slavs. Several young Slavic students slipped into the city prepared to murder the archduke. They were all members of a secret society called the Black Hand, pledged to violence against Austria. The assassins were armed with bombs and pistols taken from a Serbian government arsenal by a staff officer who was a leader of the society. One of the youths, Gavrio Prinzip, succeeded in killing both Francis Ferdinand and his wife while they were riding through the streets on June 28, 1914.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH I OF AUSTRIA

Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary from 1848 to 1916,  
Francis Joseph's life was a series of tragedies.

*THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM*

For a moment statesmen were filled with consternation. Then the storm broke. Austria, highly excited, charged without real proof that the Serbian government was supporting the murderers. Here was an excellent chance to reduce Serbia to com-

plete dependence and so end the Slavic menace on the southern borders of the empire, leaving the way clear for Austrian supremacy in the Balkans. Therefore, a month later Vienna sent a note to Serbia making ten humiliating demands and giving only forty-eight hours for an answer. The gist of this ultimatum was such that, if Serbia complied, she would give up certain rights of government and become more or less an Austrian dependency.

Without doubt, Austria did not expect Serbia to yield, and the ultimatum was to be an excuse to declare war upon its rejection. Germany, without knowing the Austrian plans or the contents of the note, had given its promise to stand by her ally in the punishment of the assassin, a promise referred to as Germany's "blank check" to Austria. Hence, immediately after presentation of the ultimatum, Germany publicly announced the whole-hearted support of Austria. England and France, anxious to keep peace, urged Serbia to send a satisfactory reply. Humbled, the Serbs accepted all but two of the demands, and offered to have these two arbitrated by the Hague Tribunal. Meanwhile, they appealed to Russia and were promised the support of the tsar.

To all the other nations the menace of war was dreadful. Frantically the statesmen sought a way to keep Austria and Russia apart. They knew that as soon as the first shot was fired they would all be involved. The lines had been so clearly drawn, the alliances so firmly welded, and most important of all, the interests of each were so dependent on those of its allies, that none could stay out.

### *ENGLAND SUGGESTS A CONFERENCE*

The British proposed a conference of the Powers at London which should demand the cessation of all military activities by Austria, Russia, and Serbia. France suggested that they should all bring pressure to bear at Vienna and St. Petersburg to compel peace. To all suggestions Germany was at first cold; but when she saw that the war could not be localized in Serbia, but would involve all Europe and that the redemption of the "blank check to Austria" would mean having to fight France, Russia, and even

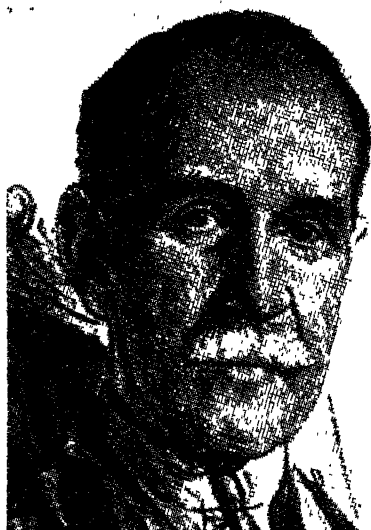


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## GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS . . . THE TSAR . . . MARSHAL JOFFRE

Great Britain, she hastily changed her tactics and began urging Austria to negotiate the dispute. But the pressure on Austria slackened momentarily as the military party in Berlin insisted on war, and Britain's suggestion for a conference was rejected.

As expected, Austria found Serbia's reply unsatisfactory and declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. Russia began partial mobilization and the news of this action led the German General Staff to insist that the foreign ministry of William II decide on war or peace, for if war came, Germany should strike before Russia and her ally France. Germany, therefore, threatened war unless Russia ceased mobilizing. The tsar's war department did not desist from its course and, when Russia refused, Germany declared war. Meanwhile Germany had sent France an ultimatum asking whether, if Russia and Germany went to war, France would aid her ally. France did not reply, and, to avoid appearing as the aggressor, delayed her declaration until Germany had actually declared war and invaded Belgian territory. France's position in the minds of her officials was simple: She must support her ally Russia, and the people upheld the government's action.



Courtesy The Chicago Public Library

**VISCOUNT HALDANE OF CLOAN**

War Secretary and Lord Chancellor of pre-war England who was considered to be leader of a pro-German faction.



International News photo

**EARL GREY OF FALLODON**

Grey was British Foreign Minister when Britain declared war after Germany violated the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality.

***BRITAIN ENTERS THE CONFLICT***

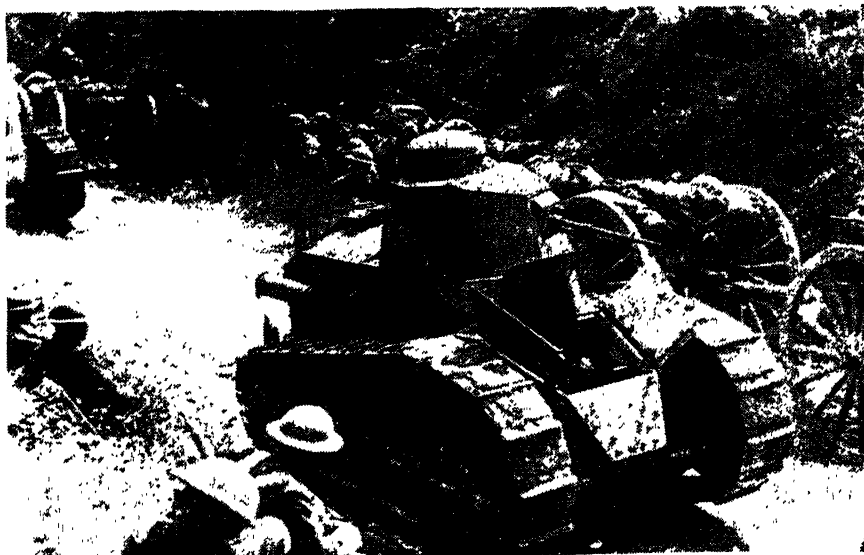
England's attitude was uncertain at this stage. The cabinet was divided, with the majority against England's taking part in a continental war. Parliament was not in session, and public opinion seemed opposed to participation. Lord Grey, the foreign minister, became more and more concerned as the realization of the meaning and obligations of the secret ententes and promises he had given France became clearer. But would the other members of the cabinet, let alone the British people, permit a declaration of war over a Balkan squabble, or for the defense of France?

At this point, German troops began marching through Belgium in direct violation of the treaty signed by six great European Powers in 1839, guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. In order to gain a quick victory over France, the Germans had believed themselves compelled to make this breach of international law. The British people knew that German possession of Belgium meant danger to Great Britain for "Belgium is a pistol aimed at the heart of Eng-

land." The emotional appeal of this invasion of little Belgium by powerful Germany was not overlooked. Lord Grey and the Cabinet decided to make this action a cause for war. Germany was called upon to live up to the terms of the treaty of neutrality or face England's declaration of war. Germany refused, and when the British ambassador asked for his passports the German Chancellor bitterly remarked that according to England's statement she was going to war "just for a scrap of paper."

### THE WAR BEGINS

Although Austria mobilized on July 26, and bombarded the Serbian capital three days later, the more important phase of the World War began August 3, when the first German troops crossed the Belgian border. This long-planned movement of the German army seemed to take the French staff by surprise. According to the Entente plans, France was to attack half the German army along the Franco-German border in Alsace-Lorraine, while Russia



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### TANKS IN THE GREAT WAR

The World War was the first in which the tank was used.





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**MARSHAL JOFFRE OF FRANCE**

Joffre's brilliant military tactics did much to hold German forces in check.

**MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH**

Grizzled French veteran who was chosen by the Allies to lead their combined forces in the final drive against the Central Powers.

kept the other half busy in the East. These plans were disrupted when almost the entire German army poured through the neutral and relatively unfortified territory of Belgium. At great sacrifice to themselves, the Belgians resisted at the forts of Liège and Namur. Nevertheless, eighteen days later the huge army marched into northern France ahead of schedule.

The French Marshal Joffre maneuvered his armies in the Alsace-Lorraine region, withdrawing men and sending them northwest to meet the advancing Germans, and took up a position south of the Marne River. For four days the French, with the small English and Belgian armies, fought the famous Battles of the Marne, so critical that the defenders of the gate to Paris were sent out in taxicabs and on bicycles. Aided by the British, these emergency troops rushed into a gap between parts of the German army and almost isolated one section. The entire German line had to be withdrawn northward to the Aisne River. The quick conquest of France was prevented.

The Germans hastened to extend their lines northwestward to include the French channel ports most important for the landing of English troops. But the English succeeded in turning the German right flank northward to the Belgian coast near Ypres.

### WAR PROLONGED

Both armies were so strung out that they had to entrench themselves for defense. This marked a turning point in the war. Instead of fighting with compact masses of movable troops, the nations were facing each other in a line six hundred miles long, from the Channel to the Swiss frontier, in positions easy to hold but difficult to capture. Instead of armies of a few hundred thousand men, the entire populations of the nations were involved, millions in the trenches, millions working in home bases, and the various countries completely concerned with providing men and supplies. Instead of a short "knockout" war, western Europe was in a state of siege.

### RESOURCES FOR A LONG WAR

Under these conditions, staying power was what counted. Germany had a standing army of 820,000 men which could be expanded by mobilization to over five million. During the war she mobilized a total of eleven million men. In addition, she had the armies of Austria and Turkey. Their men were already trained by a universal conscript system, well disciplined, and had leaders who were probably the most efficient in the world. On the side of the Allies, the huge Russian army, the largest in the world, was slow, poorly officered, and very ill-equipped for modern war. England had a small standing army and no trained conscripts of the type produced by the compulsory military service of the Continent. France was better off in respect to men, mustering seven and a half million during the war. Germany had an advantage in fighting on French soil, with some French munition factories inside her lines. Because of their middle location, the Central Powers were able to transfer troops quickly from east to west over their efficient rail system, while the Allies were cut off from each other by sea.

Once the war had settled into trenches, the Allies had more reason for hope. Direct military advantage such as strategic plans, prepared armies, and an internal position might be less important than other factors in a long war. Britain and her empire could eventually train a large army. The British navy ruled the seas, enabling her to blockade and starve Germany, while England and France could supply themselves from neutrals across the water. England's great industrial machine, product of a century-longer growth than that of Germany, was thus spared the ravages of war, and after a year was tuned up to supply munitions as rapidly as Germany's more specialized factories. Even more important, Britain and France could buy in quantity from the United States, and pay by vast borrowings in that country. Without Britain's manufactures to make up for her lost coal and iron region—both to supply her armies and to maintain Allied borrowing power—France would have been swamped.

To paralyze London, that world center of trade, finance, and industry, Germany had two weapons: the zeppelin and the submarine. The airships at first terrified the London populace, but the submarine was more effective in threatening England's food supply, a most vital point, for England was more dependent than other nations on overseas trade. England was much like a great city dependent upon country areas over the sea, while Germany had enough agricultural and raw materials to make her self-sufficient in a short war.

### *THE EASTERN ALLY*

While western Europe was tightening its belt for the costliest war in history, the Russians were discovering that their old system of enslaved peasantry and corrupt aristocracy could furnish neither good officers, good soldiers, nor adequate supplies. At first their "steam roller" army was able to invade Galicia while the Austrian army was weakened by unsuccessful fighting with the Serbians. In the north, against East Prussia, their operations were of some value to the French, for the influential landowners there demanded of the Berlin government protection of their farms.

This was accomplished by withdrawing men from the battle of the Marne, and the British and French, penetrating the weakened spot, won the battle.

German armies under generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff, however, soon won a great victory over the Russians at Tannenberg, advancing far into Russia to threaten Pëtrograd by spring, 1915. In the same year, under the German general, von Mackensen, Austria retrieved all of Galicia and Russian Poland besides. Bulgaria, thereupon, joined the Central Powers in the hope of winning territory lost in the last Balkan War, and assisted in conquering Serbia and Montenegro.

The Allies launched a naval and land attack upon Turkey in the Dardanelles to render aid to Russia on the Black Sea. They also began ventures at Salonika, in parts of Armenia, and in Mesopotamia. All involved great waste of man-power and all failed. The Allies were struggling desperately to keep the Central Powers from completely smashing Russia. If Russia collapsed all might be lost for the Allies.



SHORES OF THE BOSPORUS NEAR THE DARDANELLES

The Allied attack on Turkey in the Dardanelles, to bring aid to Russia, involved a great waste of power and failed of its purpose.

## EARLY PROMISES

In September, 1914, the Allies had agreed not to withdraw separately from the conflict. They used diplomacy in other directions. Neutrals were offered rich rewards for joining them. Though Turkey went over to the Central Powers at the beginning as an enemy of Russia, Japan joined the Allies, quickly taking over German interests in China. Portugal, bound by an old treaty to assist England, joined in November.

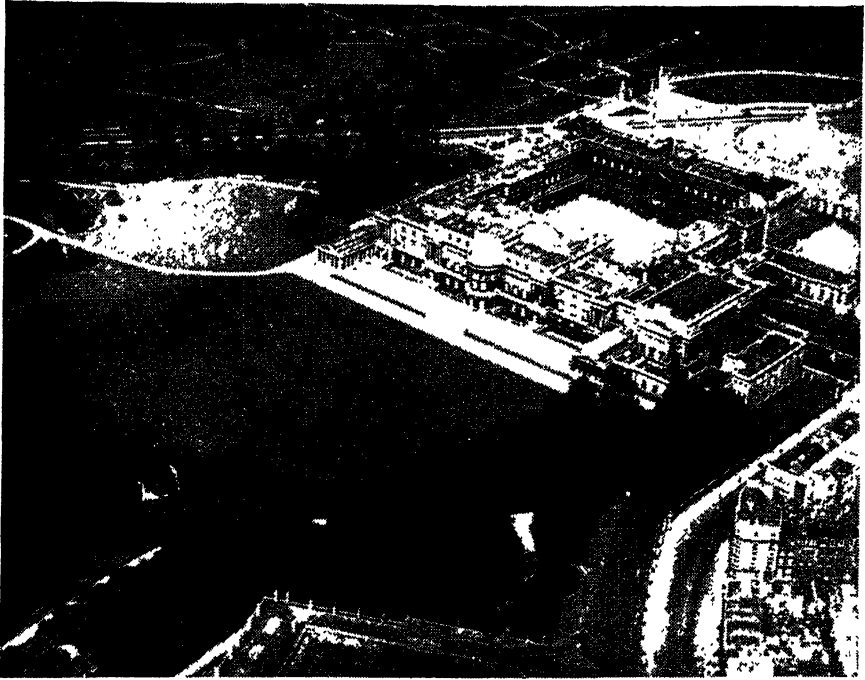
The Central Powers were unable to hold Italy to her alliance with them since her interests conflicted with Austria's. In the spring of 1915 she accepted the Allies' promises of enough Austrian, Balkan, Greek and over-sea territory to give her control of the Adriatic and Aegean seas.

The Allies received a setback when Bulgaria joined Austria in the fall of 1915 following von Mackensen's success against Russia. The Central Powers, by this alliance and by a final conquest of Serbia and Montenegro under von Mackensen, had control of the whole of the Balkans. The Berlin-Bagdad connection was an accomplished fact, at least territorially.

## THE WAR ON THE SEA

Sea control was of vital importance in the Great War. At the outset, Germany possessed the second finest fleet in the world, and Austria had a small fleet and port on the Adriatic. Neither fleet, however, dared leave its harbor in the face of superior Allied sea power. Britain thus was able to declare a blockade of the North Sea, including neutral Holland and Denmark. As usual, the United States protested the high-handed breach of neutral rights, but as usual the rights of neutrals were ignored.

Germany suffered greatly from the blockade. She could not pay for the huge costs of the war if she could not sell her manufactures as formerly. Where could she get food now that all her manpower was drawn from the fields into the tremendously enlarged and all-engulfing war? She had to rely on what could seep through Holland and Denmark.



AIR VIEW OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE, LONDON

Germany tried in vain to paralyze London—world center of trade, finance and industry—using for the purpose her two terrible weapons, the zeppelin and the submarine.

England destroyed Germany's unprotected warships systematically; one fleet was destroyed at the battle of the Falkland Islands, and various lone commerce-raiding cruisers were captured or interned in neutral ports. The giant *Vaterland*, world's largest vessel, interned in New York, was later renamed *Leviathan* and employed by the Americans to transport troops. Most of her merchant marine suffered a similar fate, and thus her foreign markets were lost to the British and Americans.

### COLONIAL LOSSES

Worse yet, her colonies lay undefended at the mercy of the Allies. As early as August, 1914, the colony of Togoland fell to French and British invasions. Kamerun surrendered early in 1915. German Southwest Africa was finally conquered by the famous Boer generals Jan Smuts and Louis Botha. German East Africa



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#### THE CONVOY SYSTEM

Ships travelled in groups in the war zones and were guarded against submarine attacks.

held out until 1918, but her Pacific islands and Far Eastern possessions had fallen to the New Zealanders and the Japanese respectively by the end of 1914.

Turkey suffered too, losing Cyprus and Egypt to England's sea strength. The early failures of the Allies at the Dardanelles, Salonika, and Mesopotamia were recouped by the capture of Bagdad in 1916 and Colonel Lawrence's support of an Arab revolt against Turkey.

#### SUBMARINE WARFARE

What could the Germans do on the sea? No final victory was in sight on the vital western front. Her Grand Fleet met the British in the war's only large naval battle. They inflicted losses on the British, returning home before the superior enemy damaged them seriously, but they never ventured out again. Various German raiders, notably the *Emden*, inflicted some damage on Allied shipping. But most important was the submarine which could slip through the Allied patrols and destroy their shipping. If these submarines dared to obey international law and warn carriers of contraband before torpedoing them, they were in great danger of

destruction by British armed vessels, some flying neutral flags. The U-boats, therefore, commenced sinking all suspicious vessels without warning. This campaign gave promise of ultimately starving England into submission. However, the United States, the only powerful nation not in the war, protested strongly over the sinking of the British *Lusitania* which was carrying American passengers. A year later, in May, 1916, Germany finally agreed to warn merchant vessels, fearing lest the United States join the Allies. Britain could not be starved, while Germany was virtually in a state of siege.



Acme photo

#### "LAWRENCE OF ARABIA"

The exploits of Col. T. E. Lawrence in Arabia, where he engineered an Arab revolt against Turkey, made him a popular world hero.





THE DESOLATION OF THE WAR ZONE



AFTER APRIL 6, 1917, THE UNITED STATES WAS IN THE WAR

# NINETEEN-SEVENTEEN

## THE STALEMATE OF LATE 1916

TOWARD THE END OF 1916 it seemed that a stalemate existed on the western front. The German attack on Verdun had been repulsed with heavy losses. On the other hand, the Allied offensive on the Somme also involved tremendous loss and little gain. Yet it did throw the Germans on the defensive and relieved their pressure on Verdun. The Italians also launched an attack against Austria and were temporarily successful.

On August 27, 1916, Rumania declared war on the Central Empires. Encouraged by Allied promises of territorial gain and by the seeming weakness of Austria, Rumania thought to benefit by entering the struggle. But her army did not prove effective against the German-Bulgarian attack under the capable von Mackensen and soon Rumania was overrun by the German armies, her territory furnishing valuable supplies of oil and grain to the Central Powers.

At this juncture, seemingly the most favorable moment for the Central Powers since the beginning of the war, Germany sent notes to the Allied Powers, proposing peace. An official reply in the form of a single collective note to this request was made in December, 1916. It declared that the German proposal, submitting no definite peace terms, was merely a diplomatic maneuver calculated to weaken the support of the Allied peoples to their governments, and to place on the Allies the responsibility of continuing the war. The proposal was termed "insincere" and hence rejected.



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Although the Central Powers had conquered Rumania, their position was not as strong as it appeared. The blockade by the British and French navies was gradually becoming more effective. The German people suffered greatly from lack of foodstuffs and other materials. Large groups, particularly the Socialists, began to favor a cessation of hostilities and advocated a peace without annexations, thus seriously undermining the "will to victory."

In Austria-Hungary conditions were even less favorable. Financial resources were exhausted, while the people had already been taxed to the limit. Moreover, the various nationalities in the



Paul's Photos, Chicago

#### THE GERMAN HIGH COMMAND

General von Ludendorff, shown here in conversation with General von Hindenburg and General Field Marshal von Mackensen, was an advocate of unrestricted submarine warfare.

empire began to clamor for autonomy and independence. Realizing the danger to his throne in case he continued the war, the new emperor, Charles I, in January, 1917, began secret negotiations with the Allies, revealing his willingness to make considerable concessions. Germany believing she could still win the war, opposed these negotiations.

### *SUBMARINE WARFARE*

Since the situation on the western front had developed into a stalemate, with the British blockade gradually sapping Germany's strength, German leaders came to the conclusion that British supremacy on the sea had to be broken at any cost. Hindenburg and Ludendorff advised the inauguration of unrestricted submarine warfare to accomplish this purpose. If the supplies of raw materials, foods, and munitions flowing freely into England from all corners of the world could be cut off, Great Britain's power to carry on the war would be greatly crippled.

After their rejection of the German peace proposals, the Allied Powers complied with President Wilson's suggestion that they state their war objectives. Their peace terms included such demands as the evacuation of Belgium and Serbia, with compensation for damages; withdrawal of German troops from Russia, France, and Rumania with reparations for the damages; and the liberation of the submerged nationalities in Austria-Hungary. Upon learning of these demands, Germany announced that a submarine campaign was to go into effect on February 1, 1917. A zone was drawn around England and along the coast of the other Allied countries and all ships within this zone were to be torpedoed on sight. One ship a week was permitted to leave and arrive in England from the United States.

### *AMERICA STAMPEDED INTO WAR*

The German leaders knew that this declaration would ultimately draw the United States into the war. But they hoped to win the war before American aid could become effective.

An immense trade had developed between the United States and England, greatly aiding American prosperity. Americans

feared that a complete cessation of their foreign trade would precipitate a costly depression. Vociferous demands were raised for maintaining freedom of the seas, a traditional American policy. Much of this agitation was directed against Germany, although Great Britain had already violated freedom of the seas by shutting off all neutral trade with the Central Powers.

In addition, skilful British propaganda had done much to arouse anti-German sentiment in the United States. At the same time German propaganda had been less effective and less appealing to American emotions. The Germans were also accused of certain outrages, such as the organization of strikes in American factories engaged in manufacturing munitions and other goods for the Allies.

The financial stake of the United States in the Allied countries was also large. Bankers had floated large foreign loans which were heavily subscribed by the American people. Opinions differ as to how far these loans influenced the United States to enter the war. The American people, like other peoples, were never certain, nor, in fact, clear as to the issues involved. The flood of propaganda pouring over the country submerged the real issues.

When Germany announced her intention of unrestricted submarine warfare, Wilson at once broke off diplomatic relations. Events were rapidly coming to a crisis. On March 1 the famous Zimmermann note was published. This document revealed that Germany was attempting to cause Mexico to declare war on the United States. When, after February 1, according to the German ruling, American ships were prohibited from entering Allied waters, Wilson by executive order permitted the arming of merchant vessels. By March 16 and 17, several American ships returning to the United States had been sunk. When Wilson asked for a declaration of war against Germany, Congress acquiesced by a large majority and on April 6, 1917, America officially entered the World War.

### *AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WAR*

At once the United States began to send money, food, raw materials, and soldiers to the Allies. Billions of dollars were loaned.



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

HERBERT CLARK HOOVER



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

GEN. JOHN J. PERSHING

Herbert Hoover was appointed "food controller" to husband American resources. The moral support given to the Allies by the American entrance into the war was even greater in its immediate effect. The Allied peoples abandoned their "defeatism" and regained their courage. Nearly a year lapsed before troops could be sent to France in large numbers. But it can be safely said that American resources and materials, streaming into France, England, and Italy, both before and after the American declaration of war, can claim a large share of responsibility for the ultimate Allied triumph.

### *THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION*

During the World War an event took place in Russia which had then, and continues to have, extraordinary significance in world affairs. That event was the Russian Revolution. According to the ideas of Karl Marx, a proletarian revolution would occur in countries most advanced industrially. He believed that, since the growing industrial machine lacked all central control, recurring economic crises would become progressively more severe.

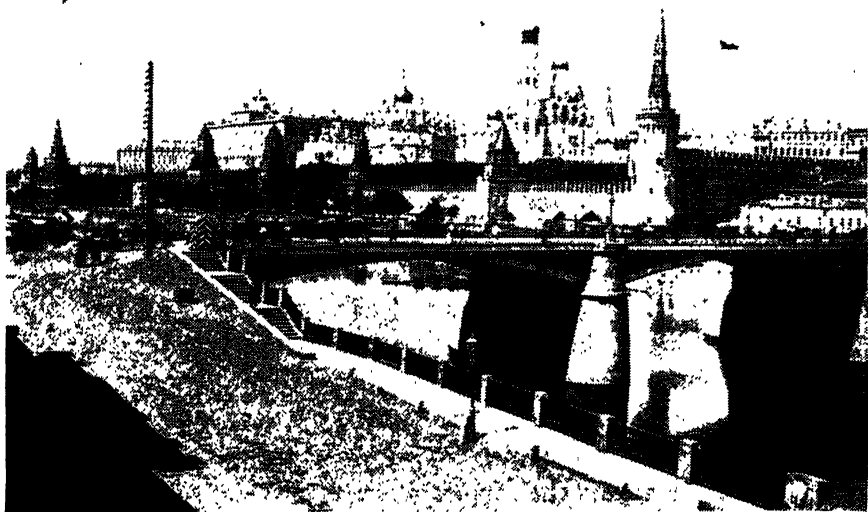
The subsequent suffering of the workers, as well as their increasing number, would intensify the struggle between the working class and the property-owning middle class, finally resulting in a world revolution. Yet, when it came, the revolution broke out in the most backward European country, largely rural in character and not well developed industrially.

### *CAUSES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION*

Whatever may have been the good intentions of Tsar Alexander II in liberating the serfs in 1861, in actual practice these were not realized. In return for his small plot of ground the "free" peasant was saddled with a heavy debt, payable to the landlord, his former master. Partly because of crude methods of cultivation, the strips of land the peasants now owned were too small for their support. Famines were common. In 1903 an agrarian committee reported to the prime minister, Count Witte, that even with a normal harvest peasants had thirty per cent less nutriment than was physiologically required. Gradually a few wealthy peasants, named kulaks (meaning, "fists"), were able to appropriate most of the lands not owned by the aristocracy, thus leaving the mass of peasants with little or no property.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Russian peasant lacked all civil liberty. He could not dispose of his land or leave the community without special permission of tsarist officials. He was still subjected to cruel corporal punishment for slight offenses. Like the other Russian lower classes, he had no political liberty. The Russian peoples were not ruled by their own representatives; they could not vote; they were helpless before the arbitrary acts of officials; and they lacked any freedom of press, speech, and assembly. They were forbidden to complain. The tsar, with the help of the nobility and a handful of rich officials, was in absolute control.

This lack of liberty went hand in hand with the greatest poverty. The majority of peasants were paupers, exploited by the large landowners as well as by the kulaks. It was estimated that out of ten million peasants, three million owned no horses at all, and three and a half million possessed one horse to a household. A



GENERAL VIEW OF MOSCOW

thousand of the wealthiest landowners owned as much land as two million of the poorest peasants. It is not difficult to understand why the peasants rallied to support the Bolsheviks in their slogan of 1917, "Peace and Land."

Although Russia as a whole remained predominantly agricultural, a growth of industry and trade took place in the cities. Railroads were built, especially during the rule of Alexander III (1881-1894). Yet, most of these developments were made with the aid of foreign capital on which the Russian people had to pay a high interest rate.

The condition of the workers was as bad as that of the peasants. Their grievances were long hours, low wages, and bad housing conditions. The continual influx of impoverished peasants into the city slums seemed to guarantee a permanent, cheap labor supply to a small group of middle-class manufacturers. Attempts at unionization were prevented by force. There was no freedom of speech, press, or assembly. As time went on, the psychology of the laboring groups became more and more revolutionary. When,



finally, a series of unsuccessful wars exposed to the Russian people the incapacity and corruptness of their rulers, the stage was set for one of the greatest social and political upheavals in history.

### *REVOLUTIONARY UNDERGROUND PARTIES APPEAR*

Revolutionary activity in Russia during the nineteenth century failed because of its poor organization, and lack of support from the nation as a whole. A change took place by the beginning of the twentieth century. The opposition to the tsar consolidated itself into three rather compact groups. There were the liberals who, by peaceful means, wished to establish a representative government and introduce other political and economic reforms, but who wanted to retain the capitalistic system. Another group, styled the Social Revolutionaries, concerned themselves mainly with the plight of the peasants. They advocated a co-operative rural society in which the farmers were to work the lands in communes. In order that the peasants might obtain the land from the large landowners, they advocated mass action and revolution.

The first Marxian group was organized by Plekhanov in 1881 under the name of Russian Social Democratic Party. Its members were mostly workingmen, although most of its leaders were revolutionary intellectuals. In the early 1900's it split into two wings: the Mensheviks who were milder in their attitude and believed in co-operation with bourgeois parties; and the Bolsheviks, who, more resolute and revolutionary in character, believed in alliance with the poor peasants, insisted on strict party discipline, and advocated armed rebellion as the most effective revolutionary method. Later the Bolsheviks formed an independent party which in 1917 adopted Communist Party as its name.

Lenin early became the leader of the Bolshevik Party. He did not believe that a political party could create a revolution which he considered as the natural and inevitable outcome of economic forces. Instead, he was of the opinion that his party, composed of a small, compact group of professional revolutionaries, should be at hand when the mass uprising occurred, guide it into the desired channels, and seize the reins of government.

certainly is true that the World War hastened and precipitated the downfall of tsarism.

At first the war seemed to be popular in Russia. The Pan-Slavic movement was strong, and it was felt that Slavic races in the Balkans were oppressed by Austria and Germany. But with the news of Russian military disasters the enthusiasm even of war-loving groups soon waned. Large Russian armies were defeated by German troops, fewer in number but more efficient. The same situation obtained as in the Russo-Japanese war. Corruption, inefficiency, drunkenness, and cruelty were characteristic of many Russian generals and officers. The soldiers, most of them peasants, were slaughtered by the thousands, and often were needlessly sacrificed. The administration behind the lines was exasperatingly cumbersome and inefficient. Intrigue and thievery paralyzed the entire government. The mere mention of the name Rasputin, the sinister "monk," is enough to convey what went on at the tsar's court itself.

As demands for reform accumulated, Nicholas, prompted by his wife Alexandra, became more stubborn. The Duma was disbanded, and general reaction reigned. Not even the assassination of Rasputin visibly disturbed the tsar on his singular march to his own perdition.

### *THE MARCH REVOLUTION*

Finally, in March, 1917, the starving workers of Petrograd launched a general strike. Dissatisfaction spread over the entire empire. Even former conservatives joined the opposition. When the tsar ordered his troops to suppress the strike and again commanded the newly assembled Duma to go home, revolution broke forth in full force. This time the soldiers refused to shoot down the workers, and, instead, fraternized with them. Councils or soviets of soldiers and workers sprang up. The Duma refused to obey the tsar, and on March 15, 1917, sent a delegation which virtually ordered the tsar to abdicate. The last Russian tsar thereupon gave up his throne.

The main leaders of the Duma now formed a cabinet or government. Most of its members were liberals, though a few were



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## AN AMERICAN OUTPOST IN RUSSIA IN 1919

mild socialists, Kerensky among them. It favored a liberal democracy. Freedom of speech, press, and assembly were restored, social and religious persecution was stopped, amnesty was announced to political exiles and prisoners, and the people were promised a convention to frame a constitution for a democratic Russia.

The war policy was not changed. The Duma decided to continue supporting the Allies and to prosecute the war vigorously. The new government was as desirous for the annexation of Constantinople as the previous one.

However, the Duma and the new government were not really representative of the people. The large landholders and capitalists had a significant majority, because of the one-sided election laws promulgated by the tsar. It was their desire to change only the political, not the social and economic, conditions. They had respect for property rights and hesitated to satisfy the clamor of the peasant for more land. For that reason the government for months delayed the calling of a constitutional assembly that would be more representative of the people.

### PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT VERSUS SOVIETS

The Russian peasants, workers, and soldiers were not satisfied with a mere political revolution. They primarily desired the alle-

viation of their social and economic conditions. Peasant, worker, and soldier councils or soviets had been springing up all over Russia. In the months after the March revolution there were thus two organizations in rivalry with each other for political power: the Soviets and the Provisional Government. This duality greatly added to the instability and confusion of the time.

The movement to the left was so pronounced that in May the conservative Prince Lvov was forced to resign from the government, which was now headed by Kerensky, who was a mild Socialist. He was a wordy person and his policies were vacillating. The Allies refused to negotiate peace with the Central Powers, and so Kerensky tried to push his country toward a last effort to defeat Germany and Austria. The July, 1917, offensive of Russian troops turned into a complete disaster.

Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks had not been idle. Gradually they were able to exert more influence over the soviets and over the masses. Their final success was due largely to the ability and resoluteness of a few daring leaders.

### *LENIN GUIDES THE REVOLUTION*

Lenin was the most outstanding revolutionary personage. Since the early 1900's he had been the leader of the Bolshevik faction in the Social Democratic Party. Most of his life was spent as an exile abroad, where he worked unceasingly for the revolution. It was through his untiring efforts that a small but compact group of professional revolutionaries had spun its web over all Russia. As soon as he heard of the abdication of the tsar, he hastened to Russia to direct Bolshevik organization and propaganda.

Upon his arrival Lenin immediately realized the instability of Kerensky. He saw that the Soviets supported the government but reluctantly.

### *THE SHREWDNESS OF LENIN*

Lenin's genius was especially discernible in his ability to gauge at all times the moods of the people. The chief cause of the weakness and disintegration of the government was its continuance of

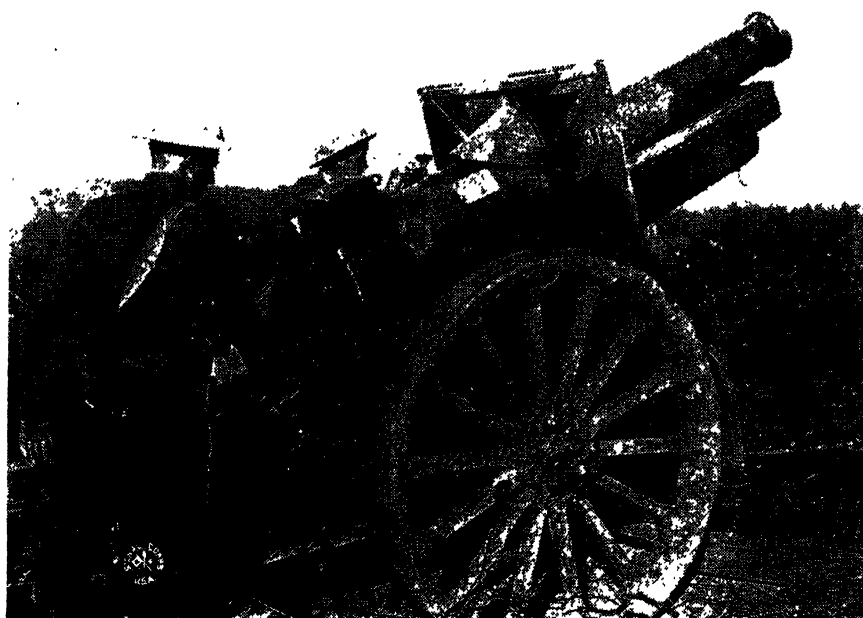
the war. It did not realize that the masses were tired of the struggle and incapable of making further sacrifices. Referring to the secret treaties, later made public by the Bolsheviks, Lenin pointed out that the struggle was an imperialistic war of aggression. This interpretation found great acceptance among the soldiers at the front and among the submerged nationalities previously incorporated into Russia.

Another cause for the disintegration of the government was its agrarian policy. The liberal ministers urged the peasants not to seize the land of the landowners, but to wait for the action of a constituent assembly. Yet the calling of such a convention was indefinitely postponed. Seven months after the March revolution nothing had been done to abolish the sorry conditions prevailing in the villages, particularly in central Russia. In contrast, Lenin urged the peasants to seize the land immediately, and to regulate the division of land through their own local soviets. Lenin knew the peasant was no longer satisfied with promises.

The dissatisfaction among the working classes was also a factor. As time went on, the workers became more revolutionary. No longer were they satisfied with a mere democratic government which left the factories in the hands of their former managers. The Bolsheviks promised expropriation of the factories, their transfer to the government, and democratic self-government in each plant.

### *BOLSHEVIKS SEIZE POWER*

Kerensky had appointed General Kornilov as commander-in-chief of the Russian army. Kerensky desired to strengthen the right and play it off against the growing movement on the left. Kornilov, however, had plans of his own and organized a "White" army with the purpose of installing a military dictatorship. Kerensky became alarmed and called on the armed workers and "Red" soldiers for help. Kornilov failed in his coup d'état, thus adding to the prestige of the workers. It became clear that Russia had to choose either a "White" or a "Red" dictatorship.



U. S. Signal Corps photo

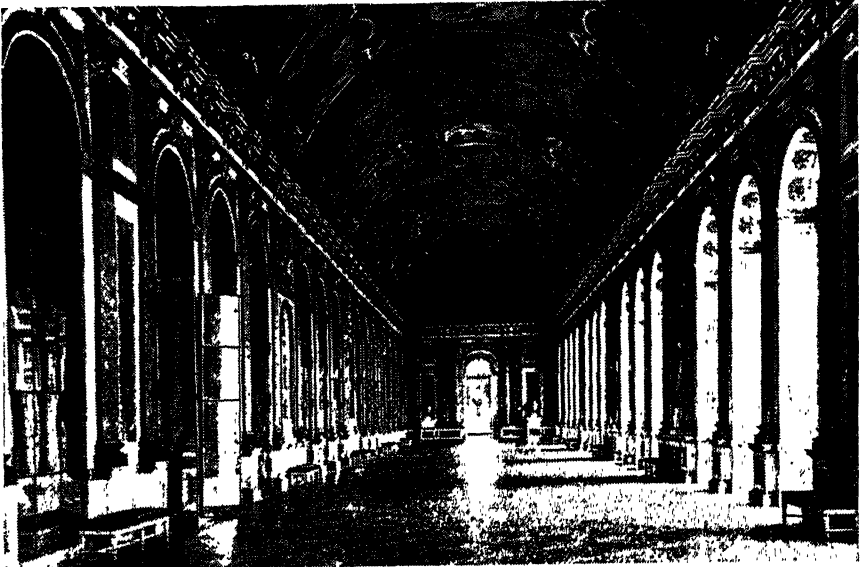
Paul's Photos, Chicago

## LAST GUN FIRED ON AMERICAN FRONT

'Calamity Jane,' the gun which fired the last American shot of the World War at 10:59.59 A.M., Nov. 11, 1918, was the first to score a direct hit on the Sedan-Metz Railroad.

Meanwhile, the Austro-Hungarian empire had been shaken to its foundations by the revolts of its subject nations. With the collapse of Turkey and Bulgaria, the Allies rolled in from the east while the Italians, scenting victory, launched a successful offensive. Austria could hold out no longer and sued for peace at the end of October.

The surrender of Germany was now only a matter of days. Her people, like those of her confederates, had undergone such sufferings and privations that they refused to fight any longer. They turned on their discredited leaders, set up new governments, and demanded peace. It came on November 11, 1918, with the signing of the Armistice. Allied armies of occupation moved in, the Central Powers gave up most of their armaments, and the way was free for a peace conference.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

### FAMOUS GALLERY OF MIRRORS AT VERSAILLES

It was here that the Treaty of Versailles was signed, officially ending the war with Germany.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

MEMORIAL IN COMPIEGNE FOREST WHERE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED

# THE MAKING OF PEACE

## GREED AND THE DESIRE FOR VENGEANCE SHATTERED WILSON'S DREAM AT VERSAILLES

President Woodrow Wilson, realizing that the Central Powers had already suffered to their utmost capacity, fought a losing battle to ameliorate the terms of peace with Germany. He had believed the Allies when they agreed to make his Fourteen Points the basis of settlements, but found his ideals shattered when actual negotiations commenced. Secret treaties, dividing the spoils of war, had been entered into even before the signing of the armistice, and to the Allies the Fourteen Points represented the impractical dream of a visionary. It was greed and embitterment versus justice, and justice lost, resulting in a bitter humiliation for Germany.



International News Photo

## BULGARIAN REVOLT

ONE OF THE MOST immediate and important results of the World War was the wave of revolutions that swept over eastern Europe. Peoples that had been dominated by foreign powers or by an aristocratic ruling class for centuries asserted their autonomy by overthrowing their old governments. Thus, Bulgaria, Turkey, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire underwent radical changes.

After initial successes against Rumania, the Bulgarian army was beaten back behind its own borders in September, 1918. The morale of the people was already low, and a clamor for peace arose. The government yielded and Bulgaria withdrew from the war at the end of the month.

Meanwhile, Alexander Stambulinsky, the Bulgarian peasant leader who had been imprisoned for his opposition to the war, was released. He made his way to the front, got control of the army, and declared a republic. The old King Ferdinand was driven out, but his son, Boris, was crowned. Stambulinsky was loyal and agreed to this new arrangement. Shortly afterward he became prime minister when the Peasant party came into power.





#### EUROPE'S GATEWAY TO THE NEAR EAST

The Straits of Bosphorus have long been important in history. Cities have existed there since time immemorial. The greatest of these cities was named Constantinople by Emperor Constantine in the year 330 A.D. Since 1435 A.D. the Turks held the city almost without interruption. In recent years the name of the city was changed to Istanbul.

### *TURKISH EVENTS*

The people of Turkey had welcomed the armistice with joy; but their hostility was aroused when the Allies occupied large parts of their country. Turkey's great general, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, became the leader of the budding nationalist movement. He gained control of the central government at Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1920, and refused to accept the terms of the peace treaty offered by the Allied Powers.

Kemal was forced to retreat to Anatolia, in Asia Minor, where he established a republic that had the support of the people. His military victories over the invading Greeks in the subsequent years soon had the Allies concerned lest their opposition to him lead to a new great war. They agreed to treat with him as an



*Paul's Photos, Chicago*

**FORMER EMPEROR WILLIAM II**

The Kaiser's abdication on Nov. 9, 1918, marked the collapse of the German military machine and the end of the war.

ished and the opposition reappeared. As the terrible years dragged by, the sufferings of the German people were unbelievable. Famine stalked the land, and the grumblings of the masses grew ominous.

In 1917 the Social Democratic party had called attention to this discontent by demanding democratic reforms and peace. Of course, they were unsuccessful then, but they had convinced many that only an armed revolt could free the nation from the grip of the old aristocracy. This belief spread to the men in the trenches and on the battleships—men who were discouraged, hungry, and tired of the mad slaughter.

When the western front collapsed, the Kaiser suddenly awoke to his dangerous predicament. He appointed the liberal Prince Max of Baden as chancellor, permitted Socialists to enter the cabinet, and tried to make Germany a parliamentary monarchy. But William II was doomed. The people were determined that he should abdicate and that a republic be established.

The first revolutionary blow was struck at the end of October by the sailors who mutinied against the order to attack the British fleet. The mutiny spread to the cities, where it became a revolution of the workers. Reveling in their power they cried, "Down with the Kaiser! Long live the Republic!"

At first William was stubborn. Then he discovered that the army, previously the bulwark of the monarchy, refused to fight in his defense. The Social Democrats, riding the crest of the wave, set November 9, 1918, as the deadline for his abdication. On that day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, they proclaimed the Republic from the steps of the Reichstag. That night a special train sped westward across the border to Holland and safety. Aboard was the Kaiser, William Hohenzollern. Imperial Germany was no more.

The Moderate Socialists, in power now, announced that a constitutional assembly was to be elected by universal suffrage. This proposal was vigorously opposed by the communistic Spartacists, who demanded that all power should be in the hands of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. Riots followed and the provisional government was forced to crush the Spartacists by force. Elections were then held in which the Moderates were victorious.

The assembly met at Weimar, famous as the home of Goethe and Schiller. Here was drawn up the constitution by which Germany was governed until the advent of Hitler. Described as the most democratic document of its kind in the world, it provided for the establishment of a complete parliamentary democracy, headed by a president and cabinet.



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

**MARSHAL PILSUDSKI OF POLAND**  
Called "Poland's George Washington,"  
Marshal Josef Pilsudski headed the Polish  
Republic after the World War.



**IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI**  
Beloved Polish musician-patriot who in 1919  
became premier of a coalition cabinet in the  
new republic.

## *ACHIEVEMENT OF POLISH INDEPENDENCE*

Although Poland had ceased to exist as a nation after 1795, the memory of their great past was ever present among the Polish people. The oppressions of their hated foreign rulers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, only increased the desire for freedom. Their opportunity came with the World War.

The man of the hour was Marshal Josef Pilsudski—Poland's George Washington. This great soldier had plotted for years against Russia. When the war broke out he enlisted in the army of Austria, because that nation had treated his people better than Russia or Prussia had. But after Russia collapsed and Germany refused Polish independence he turned against the Central Powers. Imprisoned in Germany, he was released after the revolution there. He returned to Warsaw and proclaimed himself head of the Polish Republic.

In this struggle for freedom, the Poles had the active support of the French, who wanted to erect a buffer state between Russia

and Germany. Also, President Wilson had advocated in his Fourteen Points the creation of an "Independent Polish state" with access to the sea, and an international guarantee of its independence and territory. Fired by this encouragement, the Poles rallied to the standard of Pilsudski, and Poland once more took its place in the family of nations.

### *THE WAR AT HOME*

The outcome of the World War was not decided on the field of battle. Both sides were so evenly matched that the conflict became a war of exhaustion. Since the Central Powers' reservoirs of men, food and munitions were far smaller than those of the Allies, the former were the first to reach the end of their resources. Then, and only then, did the rulers of the opposition give up the battle. Their peoples refused to sacrifice any longer, for the limits of human endurance had been reached. Men who had no bullets could not fight, and those who had no food could not work in the war industries at home. Further, the terrific slaughter made it all seem futile and empty. This was true in the Allied nations as well, but the entry of the United States had swung the balance of manpower and resources in their favor.

When the war began, few voices were raised against it. Men on both sides donned their uniforms and cheerfully fought for what they thought was the cause of justice. At home, their families willingly sacrificed many things. Women sprang into the places in industry left empty by the departing soldiers. All felt certain it would soon be over and each side was sure of victory.

They were wrong. The bloody months rolled by and death took its ghastly toll. By 1917 the masses everywhere were sick of the conflict. Dull despair filled the hearts of men. Would this killing never end? The results of this feeling in Russia have been described elsewhere. But it had serious results in all the other countries, too.

In almost every nation there were street rioting and cabinet overturns during the course of the war years. Many joined the Socialist party, which stood for peace. Especially was this true in Germany and Austria-Hungary, among whose troops the Russians

had spread much propaganda. Also, the blockade of the seas by England resulted in acute privation among the people at home and at the front.

The war-weariness in the Allied countries has been called the "defeatist movement." Socialists, many capitalists who feared the effect of continued war would ruin the economic system, religious leaders, and pacifists, all joined in pleading that the carnage be halted, and they gathered many followers.

### *GREED AND DISILLUSIONMENT*

With victory a new spirit entered into the hearts of the people of the Allied Powers. Save for America, all were eager for reparations and territorial gains at the expense of the vanquished foe. When the terms of the Peace became known, many felt that they were not sufficiently severe, and that their nations had not been granted enough of the spoils of the victory. Elation turned to disillusionment, and in some great Allied countries the heads of the government were repudiated.

Italy, especially, felt she had been cheated of her rightful share. She had entered the war primarily to gain certain definite additions of territory promised her by secret treaties with England, France, and Russia. When the Versailles Conference failed to meet all her demands, Italy was willing to use force. Thus she seized the city of Fiume and occupied parts of Albania. Italy failed, however, to achieve her aims in Africa and the Mediterranean. The resulting humiliation and disappointment led directly to the Fascist seizure of power in 1922.

The sentiments of the British people were revealed in the Khaki elections of 1918. Politics had been "adjourned" in Great Britain during the war, and by the time it was over, elections had not been held in eight years. That astute politician, Lloyd George, sensed the feeling of the people. He appealed to the country on a platform that called for punishment of German "war criminals" such as the Kaiser and ranking officials, and full payment of the Allied war costs by the defeated powers. The result was a sweeping victory for his group.



Courtesy The Chicago Public Library

#### AFTER THE WAR

France had suffered more than any other nation from the war. Much of it had been fought in her territories and the devastation was beyond imagination. As early as 1914 the French government had promised to reimburse its citizens for all losses caused by the war. When Clemenceau failed to convince the Allies at the Peace Conference that Germany should be made to pay all the costs of the conflict, he lost much popular support. Shortly afterwards, when the time came to elect a new French president, Clemenceau was rejected though he desired the position.



THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT VERSAILLES, 1919

More than a thousand delegates took part in the negotiations of the peace. The conference took place in Paris, the center of resentment against Germany, and only the representatives of the victorious nations took part. The vanquished had only to sign the completed treaty —and that under threat of further reprisals.

## POST-WAR ADJUSTMENTS

Aside from the disappointments to national ambitions, the economic unrest resulting from the end of the war had serious effects. The hosts of men returning from the trenches and the sudden cessation of war industries resulted in grave disturbances. Millions were unemployed and the world was in the grip of a depression. Radical agitators, spurred on by the example of Russia, enlisted supporters everywhere. In the United States many who honestly believed that the war was fought to save the world for democracy, became disgusted with the greed of the victors.

The Powers became frightened at this "red specter," although generally they exaggerated its strength. Measures were taken to curb it. The sedition laws in the United States and other countries were designed to repress these movements. The American measures were so severe that it has been said that most of the revolu-





THE ALLIES' "BIG FOUR": LLOYD GEORGE, ORLANDO, CLEMENCEAU, WILSON

tionary leaders of 1776 could have been sent to jail for long terms under the provisions of the laws passed. In later years they were repealed, for with time matters became partially adjusted. But the process of reconstruction is still being continued, and the world is not yet done with the after-effects of the World War.

### *THE PEACE CONFERENCE*

After much quibbling it was decided that the Allied and Associated Powers should gather at Versailles in January, 1919, to negotiate the peace. The defeated nations were not represented, for they were to have no part in determining the terms of the treaty. The Russians, too, were unrepresented. The greatest statesmen of the thirty-two victorious nations were all there, besides a host of unofficial delegates. But the "Big Four," Clemenceau of France, who was chairman, Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Lloyd George of Great Britain, and Orlando of Italy, dominated and controlled the negotiations.

Faced with the desolation caused by the late conflict, the victors were determined to end forever the danger of a recurrence of

such events. But they were also intent on getting revenge and reparation for the damage done by the enemy. Only Woodrow Wilson saw the injustice of this, for he realized that the Central Powers had already suffered to their utmost capacity. This great idealist fought a losing battle. He had believed the Allies when they agreed to make his Fourteen Points the basis of the settlement. Actually, they paid only lip-service to his ideals. During the war they had made a series of secret treaties with one another, dividing the anticipated spoils of victory, and to them the Fourteen Points were the dream of an idealist. It was greed versus justice, and greed won.

Wilson's Fourteen Points included demands for freedom of the seas, reduction of armaments, adjustment of colonial claims, evacuation of Russia and the Balkans, readjustment of the Italian borders, formation of national states in Austria-Hungary and Turkey, national self-determination in the Balkans, an independent Poland, and the formation of a League of Nations. This last was closest to Wilson's heart. He saw it as a world-wide organization of nations, united for the common welfare of all.

### *PUNISHMENT OF GERMANY*

The contest between idealism and realism was fought during four weary months. Then on May 7, 1919, the completed treaty was handed to the representatives of Germany, who had only recently arrived. The Germans were shocked at its harsh terms. They refused to sign, claiming that it did not live up to the Fourteen Points. But Clemenceau, the Tiger, who had seen France humbled in this very building in 1871, was implacable. He threatened a French invasion of Germany on June 21 unless they accepted. At the very last minute the hopeless Germans submitted to the terms. So was concluded the Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919, almost five years after Austria's declaration of war against Serbia.

It was intended to reduce the Reich to the status of a minor power, and so remove forever the threat on France's eastern border. France won back Alsace and Lorraine. Large territories were

awarded to Poland. Germany lost twelve per cent of her population and her most important natural resources. Her colonies were taken away and divided among the victors. Millions of dollars worth of machinery and live-stock were taken to replace what the Kaiser's armies had destroyed in Allied countries. Above all, the treaty demanded the payment of billions of dollars over many years as reparation for the cost of the war. The exact amount was so huge that it was left to be determined later. The treaty declared that Germany was responsible for all the damage of the conflict because she had started it. Finally, to keep the Reich from rebuilding its military power, the treaty limited her armed forces to 100,000 men and a tiny navy, abolished compulsory military service, and forbade a union with Austria, except by unanimous consent of the League of Nations.

### *TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN*

The treaty with Austria takes its name from St. Germain, near Paris, where it was signed. It had been drawn up during the Versailles negotiations, and was presented to the Austrians on June 2, 1919. It reduced Austria from an empire of 30,000,000 people to a tiny, landlocked state of 6,500,000. The rest of her vast territories were divided up among her former subject peoples and Italy. The army was reduced to 30,000 men, the entire navy confiscated. Reparations were to be made though the amount was not stated. Further, Austria, like Germany, had to permit international trade to go through its important rivers with no interference. Austria finally signed on September 10, 1919, after bitter but vain protests.

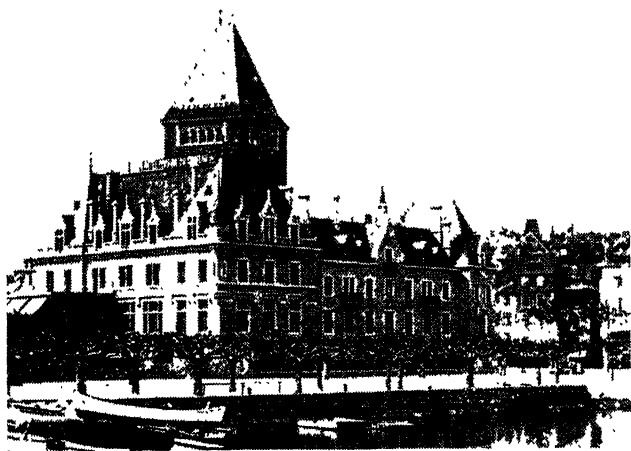
Shortly before this date Bulgaria was presented with her treaty, which she signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine in late November. Bulgaria's military and naval forces were drastically reduced, though she lost comparatively little territory. Yet the result was that Bulgaria became one of the weaker Balkan states.

## *TREATY OF THE TRIANON*

The signing of the Treaty of the Trianon with Hungary was delayed until June 4, 1920. This was because of the turbulent political situation in that country, mentioned above. Béla Kun's communistic republic had dissolved, after five months, before the onrush of invading Rumanian troops. A Rumanian occupation had followed and not until late in 1919 was a firm government re-established. The Hungarians fought desperately against acceptance of the treaty for it meant they would lose 12,000,000 inhabitants and 90,000,000 square miles of land. In the end, however, they submitted to the inevitable terms.

## *CONCESSIONS TO TURKEY*

The last of the peace agreements to be concluded at Paris, and the only one never ratified, was that with the Ottoman Empire, signed at Sèvres on August 10, 1920. The rise of Kemal Pasha and his refusal to accept the treaty have already been described. With the complete victory of the Kemalists in 1922, the Allies were compelled to recognize the new regime. They invited Turkey to a peace conference at Lausanne, Switzerland. Here the Turks



HOTEL DE CHATEAU, LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND  
After the rise of Kemal Pasha and Turkey's refusal to accept the Treaty of Versailles, a new treaty with Turkey was made at the peace conference at Lausanne.

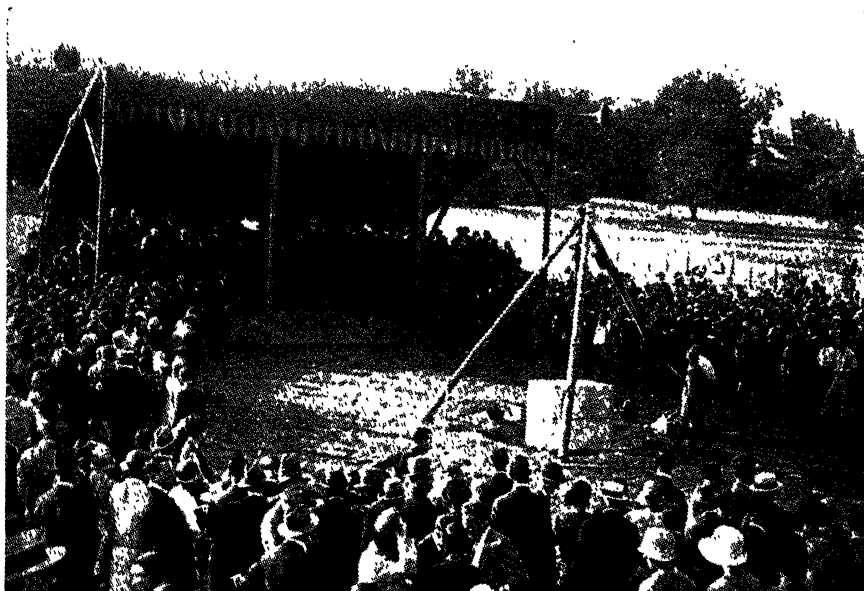
gained practically all of their demands, being the only defeated power to take active part in drawing up a peace treaty. They recovered all the purely Turkish areas that had been under foreign control. No restrictions were placed on their military or naval forces, nor were reparations demanded. They did agree to permit free passage of all foreign vessels through the Straits of the Dardanelles and to demilitarize its shores. The pact was signed July 24, 1923.

### *DISSOLUTION OF THE HAPSBURG ESTATE*

The Conference at Versailles regarded itself as "the executor of the Hapsburg estate." The many heirs were grasping and quarrelsome, and the statesmen at Paris had to intervene to settle many boundary disputes. After much argument and investigation, new frontiers were drawn which attempted to include as many people of the same racial stock as possible within the same nation. A plebiscite was held where there was reasonable doubt as to whose were the just claims in a specific area.

Not all of the boundary-fixing was limited to the Balkans. With the break-up of Romanov Russia, the subject races in the Baltic provinces declared their independence. Because the Bolsheviks believed in national self-determinism they made no attempt to reconquer these regions. So Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania became republics. The peace conference handed over to the new Poland some Russian territory that was indisputably Polish. Poland attempted to extend this by military force. This resulted in war with Russia in which Poland, with French aid, succeeded in gaining part of the disputed territory.

Despite the efforts of the Allies, Europe was still far from being organized into purely national states. Therefore, provisions to protect minorities were included in the peace treaties, and special pacts were made with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Greece.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

LAYING CORNERSTONE FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BUILDING  
IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

## *THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS*

Included in all the major peace treaties was the Covenant of the League of Nations. Largely the product of Wilson's idealism, it was an attempt to prevent future international war. All civilized nations of the world were invited to join at the start, except Russia, Mexico, Costa Rica and the defeated powers. These could join later. The League's headquarters were to be at Geneva, and meetings were to be held at stated intervals. All members were to send delegates to an Assembly, and a Council of representatives of the five great powers—England, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan—and four other nations, was to be formed. The members agreed to submit all international disputes to the arbitration of the League. If any member disregarded a decision, the Council could recommend collective military or economic action (sanctions) against the offender. The League was charged with co-ordinating the labor and social welfare activities of its members, and with registering all future treaties.

Further, it was entrusted with certain specific duties, such as the administration of the Saar Valley and Danzig. Also, each nation that had received any portion of the colonies of Germany or Turkey, was declared a "Mandatory" of the League. This meant that the new ruling nation had to report regularly to the League and be responsible to it for a good administration.

Tired of the madness of war, eager to preserve the fruits of their triumph, the Allies had great hopes for the League. They realized that co-operation had won the war, and they believed that co-operation would keep the peace.

All the nations concerned ratified the Versailles Treaty, with the exception of the United States. The disillusioned American people of nineteen-twenty feared that the League would entangle their country in European affairs. Politics, too, played a part, for the Republicans gained control of the Senate, and prevented ratification. Separate treaties were made with Germany, Austria, and Hungary in March, 1921. This defection of the United States struck a severe blow at the League, which suffered grievously as a result.



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GENERAL PÉTAİN RECEIVING BATON OF MARSHAL  
(Metz, Dec. 8, 1918.)

Front, left: Gen. Pétain. Center, left to right: Marshal Joffre, Marshal Foch, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig of the British Expeditionary Forces, Gen. John J. Pershing of the A. E. F., Gen. Gillain of Belgium, Gen. Albricci of Italy, Gen. Haller of Poland; in background, Gen. Weygand, chief of staff to Marshal Foch.

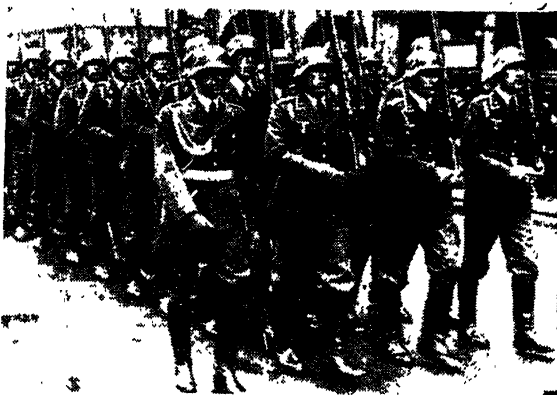
## PART V

### AFTERMATH AND RECONSTRUCTION

#### MARCHING FASCISM

Characteristic of Fascism is the pageantry of marching soldiers. Even the government of fascist nations is based on the disciplined organization of the army.

Paul's Photos, Chicago



### FASCISM OVER EUROPE

#### EFFECTS OF THE WORLD WAR

FOR GOOD OR FOR EVIL, the welter of blood through which Europe waded for four years was to influence profoundly the peoples and nations involved. So far-reaching were the effects that even at this date it is not possible to weigh them with exactness. Certain results, however, are plain, and may be discerned readily.

First of all, the nations suffered tremendous losses during the war. The four-year reign of destructiveness required the expenditure of hundreds of billions of dollars. The United States alone spent a million dollars every hour from its entrance into the war to six months after the Armistice. The destruction of ships and cargoes, and the devastation of vast areas of prosperous country by the ravages of war, added to the frightful loss. It is impossible to calculate how much material wealth was lost through converting factories and machines from useful production to the manufacturing of war materials.

Human losses were even greater than this material destruction. Ten million soldiers were killed. Twenty millions were wounded, and six million were reported missing. The human cost did not stop there. The rest of the sixty million who fought



in the holocaust have since carried mental pictures which have had profound physiological and psychological consequences. Civilians also suffered from starvation, disease, and violent death. At least thirteen million civilians perished during the conflict. Truly, the World War was the greatest mass slaughter in history, and fell heaviest upon the youngest and ablest members of the nations involved.

Old social and cultural standards broke down before war influences. The uncertainty and unrest of the times were conducive to widespread moral laxity. While the war carried an element of crusading spirit, the daily contact with death and destruction, and the training of millions of young men to become wholesale butchers of their fellow men, dulled human sympathies and aspirations.

The war, however, freed many of the subject peoples of Europe whose national feelings had made them chafe under foreign rule. The transfer of the Baltic states from Russian hegemony, the union of Slavs in Yugoslavia, the return of the Transylvanians to their fellow Rumanians all calmed pre-war



ROYAL CASTLE AT KRAKOW, POLAND

The World War brought Poland independence.

national hatreds, as did the carving out of Czechoslovakia in Central Europe. Poland gained her independence after generations of division and subjection; and Tyrol, with its many Italians, was transferred from Austria to Italy. With each change, however, new nationalistic problems resulted. For example, instead of Italians chafing under German rule in Tyrol, the German inhabitants of the same region now chafed under Italian rule. The vindictiveness of certain of the victorious nations carried territorial changes far beyond proper national bounds, and laid the basis for new hatreds and restlessness. German sections of Austria were transferred not to Italy but also to Czechoslovakia, and East Prussia was cut off from Germany by the establishment of the Polish corridor, although its people were more German than Polish. Hungary was embittered by the loss of many of her people to surrounding nations, and Italy and Yugoslavia quarreled sharply over the Adriatic port of Fiume. Such boundary changes were the product of hatred and greed, and violated the spirit of Wilson's Fourteen Points.

### *PREPARING THE GROUND FOR ITALIAN FASCISM*

Confusion and instability characterized the life of Italy in the years after the Armistice. There were numerous strikes and class wars; lands and factories were seized and the prevalence of profiteering helped to develop extremely high living costs. In the midst of these critical symptoms, the government remained passive. Particularly bad was the situation under the ministry of Giolitti, an old time liberal, who believed that the sole function of the state was the maintenance of order. During his term of office class warfare became widespread; factories were taken over by the workers and managed by the proletarian leaders with little success. With strife and disorder rampant, the moderate elements came to be thoroughly distrustful of the existing government. Eyes were now turned to the rising Fascist movement.

The Fascists, who at first were mostly discontented war veterans, had grown rapidly since their organization in 1919. Their program emphasized direct action, glorified nationalism, and the power of youth, and called for the suppression of Socialism



#### IL DUCE

The Fascist group headed by Mussolini emphasized direct action, nationalism, and the power of youth. It called for the suppression of Socialism and Communism.

and Communism. The new movement was welcomed, under the existing circumstances, by the alarmed middle and upper classes, and many of them joined the Fascist leader, Mussolini, a pre-war Socialist. The prestige of this nationalistic party was enhanced in the upper and middle classes by the manner in which it broke the general strike of August, 1922.

The confidence of the Fascists increased with their numbers, and at a great review of the Black Shirt (Fascist) militia in Milan in October, 1922, Mussolini demanded that five most important cabinet posts be given to his organization. He threatened, in case of refusal, to lead the Fascists in a march on Rome. The premier temporized, offering them a few seats in the cabinet, but his proposals were refused. Finally, the stalemate was broken by



Courtesy Italian Tourist Information Office

#### MUSSOLINI SPEAKING

The Fascists, under their energetic leader, control the Italian government, though their membership comprises but a small part of the population.

Mussolini's lieutenants, who began forcibly to take over control of local and provincial governments, and began the threatened march on Rome. In the face of this open defiance of authority, the premier asked the king to proclaim martial law throughout the land. But Victor Emmanuel, afraid of civil war, himself performed the act that ended democratic Italy by asking Mussolini to form a new cabinet. Mussolini, who was not with the marchers, came to Rome by train, demanded and received dictatorial powers from the Parliament, and began the Fascist regime in Italy.

#### FASCISM VICTORIOUS

The first step taken by the victorious Fascists was to gain control over all local and provincial offices. This done, they proceeded to "Fascistize" the Parliament: no criticism of Fascism was

to be allowed, no other parties were permitted to exist, the Fascist party was given the dominant place in the administrative hierarchy, and democratic parliamentary government was scrapped for an absolute dictatorship. By a series of laws passed in December, 1925, the assumption of power by Mussolini, already accomplished, was legalized; he was given more dictatorial powers, freedom of the press was abolished, non-Fascist editors were forced out, oaths of loyalty were required of university professors, and the central government was accented as against the local units. In carrying out this program terroristic methods were used as well as the armed force of the Black Shirt militia.

The mechanics of the new regime were relatively simple. The premier exercised supreme power, and cabinet ministers were responsible to him alone. The real sovereign of Italy was this premier, Il Duce (the Leader). The Fascist Grand Council, established by law in December, 1928, is the co-ordinating agency of the government. It meets only on call of Il Duce, and its members are appointed by him. The Council's duties are to draw up a list of candidates for the House of Deputies, to direct the policies of the Fascist party, to pass judgment on constitutional laws, which must be approved by it to be valid, to give advice and counsel to the head of the government, and, in case of vacancy, to appoint Il Duce's successor. The Fascist militia, which aided Mussolini in his rise to power, undertook various political and social functions, although it remains primarily a fighting force, the bulwark of the Fascist regime.

The Fascist party, which, under its leader, controls the government, became a closed corporation in 1925. Since then new members have come only from the ranks of its junior organizations: The *Balilla*, for boys from six to fourteen years old; the *Avanguardia*, for those from fourteen to eighteen years old, and the Young Fascists, eighteen to twenty years of age. At twenty, the Young Fascist is automatically admitted to the Fascist party. As in Russia, the dominant party comprises but a small part of the population. Its membership in 1931 of 1,300,000, or three per cent of the people of Italy, has been increasing since then.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

#### BUILDING A NEW ROME

One of the main features of Mussolini's ambitious program for Roman reconstruction is the building of a grand boulevard from the Colosseum to the Victor Emmanuel monument. Entire city blocks have been torn down in carrying on the project.



SHEPHERD'S HUT OF THATCH IN THE PONTINE MARSHES  
Reclamation of wasteland forms a party of Italy's reconstruction program.

### *FASCIST ACCOMPLISHMENTS*

The state was one huge organism according to Fascist doctrines, and in line with this idea a number of acts were passed which really made Italy into a great corporation. Syndicates of workers and associations of employees were set up; they were co-ordinated by the government which had supervision over all the economic interests of the state. In April, 1927, the Charter of Labor was proclaimed which established the theoretical rights and privileges of workers and their syndicates, but in actual fact the state retained the dominant voice. In 1928 the Italian legislative body was made representative of the various economic interests of the state rather than of geographical districts. By 1937 the Council of Corporations, which represented all of the Italian syndicates, was changed into a group of national corporations, controlling lower ones. At the top, centralizing and controlling all economic and political activities, stood Il Duce.



A NEW HOUSE FOR THE SHEPHERD AND HIS FAMILY

During the Fascist regime the relation of the Papacy to the nation of Italy, one of the most perplexing questions in Italy, was settled. The existence of the popes as voluntary prisoners in the Vatican area after Rome was taken from the control of the Papacy in 1870 had created a puzzling situation, but the whole problem was settled in 1929 by an accord between the Papacy and the Italian government. The pope was given a small piece of territory in Rome, which was to be a separate, sovereign state. The Papacy recognized in return the Italian government and gave up its claim to Rome. On the other hand, the government agreed to enforce the Canon law within its territory, to establish compulsory religious education in Italy, and to recognize the various Catholic societies. By financial agreement, the Papacy was paid almost \$100,000,000 as a settlement of all its territorial claims. The Papacy, on its part, agreed not to interfere in any manner in the political affairs of the state.

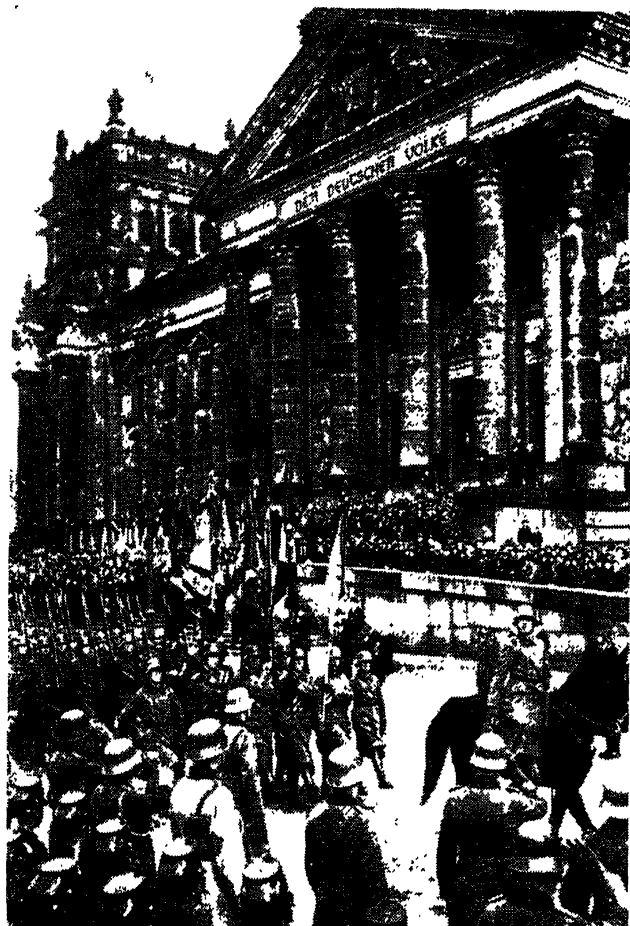
In the first years following the accession of the Fascists to power, Italy concentrated on internal development rather than



colonial expansion. Her existing colonies were developed economically, but it was not until 1935 that Italy attempted to add to its colonial area. For some time Mussolini had eyed the independent, rich and unexploited native African state of Ethiopia. A slight skirmish on the frontier, probably incited by the Italians, was seized as the pretext for Italian occupation of the country. In a short, sharp, undeclared war, the modern Italian munitions and the excellent training of Il Duce's legions proved too much for the poorly equipped troops of the Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie. A steady advance resulted in the seizure of the capital, the flight of the emperor, and the annexation of the territory, although guerrilla warfare between the Italian occupants and the hardy natives of the hill country continued through 1937. Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed emperor of Ethiopia and economic development of the territory began. The entire conquest was carried on so rapidly that the application of economic sanctions against Italy by the League of Nations proved to be ineffective, and, after the annexation of the country, they were lifted.

### *POLITICAL DISORDERS IN GERMANY*

The severe depression in Germany following the war led the middle classes to distrust the new republic that was set up at Weimar, and as a result there occurred between 1920 and 1923 a series of attempted revolutions by various groups. Aided by high military officers, there was a movement to re-establish monarchy in Germany in May, 1920. The attempt failed, largely due to resistance by the German working classes. Monarchists, however, engaged in anti-Republican activities and began a campaign of systematic terrorism. The Republican authorities replied to these acts of violence by suspending constitutional guarantees and enacting a law designed to thwart revolutionary maneuvers. But these were only half-hearted reprisals, and the monarchists and nationalists continued to promote discontent and disorder. Emboldened by this, another group under General Ludendorff and Adolf Hitler attempted to seize power in an advance from Bavaria, the famous "beer-hall *putsch*," but this attempt was a complete failure.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

#### THE REICHSTAG BUILDING IN BERLIN

After Hitler was chosen Chancellor, Nazi forces gained supremacy in a campaign marked by strong-arm methods, and Hitler was given dictatorial powers.

Hindenburg asked Hitler to form a cabinet. The new chancellor immediately called for a new election. In a campaign marked by strong-arm methods against their opponents, suspension of all constitutional liberties, and red-baiting, the Nazis managed to gain control of the Reichstag by acquiring fifty-two per cent of the popular vote. At its first session an act was passed giving Hitler dictatorial powers for four years.

Der Fuehrer, "the Leader," as Hitler now came to be called, thereupon set out to make of Germany a totalitarian state like Italy. Parliamentary government was practically done away with in all the German states, and the Nazis were given control of all administrative posts. The Nazi, like the Fascist in Italy, was made the only legal political party, and it was decreed that the formation of any new ones would constitute high treason. Propaganda and force were used to maintain the Nazis in control. Freedom of the press and of speech was abolished and all opposition ruthlessly suppressed.

While it was relatively easy for Hitler to co-ordinate German industry and commerce, the problem of nationalizing the Church presented real difficulties. In view of the "authoritarian" ideal, it was imperative that German Catholics and Protestants alike should be made to conform to the state. Subsequent to a concordat with the pope, guaranteeing religious freedom to German Catholics, Chancellor Hitler effected the election of an imperial bishop by a national synod. Various churches, especially in southern Germany, refused to acknowledge the new bishop and there was constant agitation between individualistic church elements and the state. Furthermore, many religious societies, various international and pacifistic organizations, such as the Freemasons, were pronounced illegal and were dissolved. New religious factions sprang up in the form of German Pagans and German Christians, who hold that Christianity is essentially the product of Jews and emphasize the return of a pure German faith.

The Nazi government attempted to pursue an economic policy which had in view the self-sufficiency of the nation. Imports were restricted to a minimum, in order to enable the nation to use German capital for the purchase of raw materials for its manufactures, especially of armaments. Imports were conducted largely on an exchange basis, by which the foreign exporting nations agreed to buy German products in return for the privilege of bringing their products into Germany.

The internal economic policy was in harmony with the self-sufficiency program. Industries were encouraged to dispense with foreign materials, to invent or synthesize substitutes, and, above all, to increase production. The entire working population

was organized in the German Labor Front, which was intended to abolish class distinctions and to diminish the gap between employer and employee. The government reserved the right to appoint labor officials and, in some cases, even to discharge and appoint directors, especially where Jews were involved. To increase employment, huge building programs were launched.

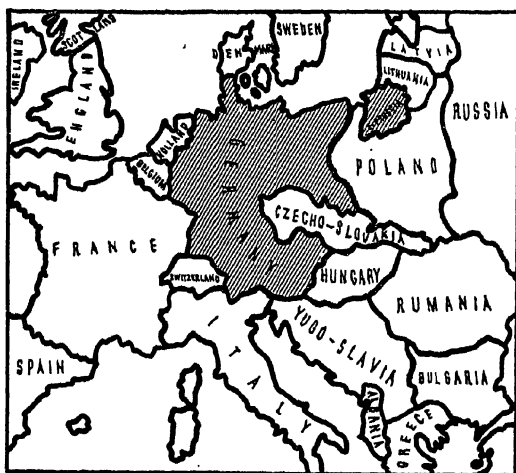
The external foreign policies were brought into harmony with the restoration of Germany as one of the leading powers of Europe. In the fall of 1933 Germany withdrew her representatives from an international disarmament conference and announced her withdrawal from the League of Nations, on the ground that Germany had not been treated on an equal basis. Most important of all was Germany's abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles. The war-guilt clause was denied, further reparation payments ceased, production of armaments and the size of the army were increased beyond treaty provisions.

German leaders demanded the return of the colonies their nation forfeited in accepting the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Their interests in a greater Germany extended even further: Nazi sympathizers were organized into clubs and parties in the neighboring states and even North and South America. In 1934, the Nazis of Austria attempted a *putsch*; it failed, but Chancellor Dollfuss was assassinated by Nazi revolutionaries. In 1936 the Nazi army marched into the demilitarized Rhine zone and stayed there, showing their defiance of a newly formed military alliance between Russia and France. Neither the League of Nations nor individual nations did more than protest—and make plans to strengthen their own military positions.

In 1937 Hitler and other German leaders took an increased interest in the Germans living under the Austrian, Hungarian, and Czechoslovakian flags. In February, 1938, Hitler called Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg of Austria to a conference at Berchtesgaden, a border town. The result of this conference was the inclusion of two Nazis in the Austrian cabinet. Schuschnigg chose to resist further encroachments, and ordered a referendum on Austrian liberty to be held on March 13. That election never took place, for on March 11 the German propaganda machine and the army moved into Austria unhindered. Two days later Hitler

### GERMANY IN EUROPE —1914

The empire of the Kaisers  
as its boundaries appeared  
before the war.



### GERMANY IN EUROPE —EARLY 1938

The boundaries of the Ger-  
man Third Reich as they  
appeared after the exten-  
sion of Hitler's power into  
the Saar region and Aus-  
tria.

personally entered Vienna and declared Austria a part of the Third Reich. The ease with which the invasion took place proved that the Austrian Nazis were in full co-operation with the invaders. German anti-Semitism followed the conquerors into Austria: plans were laid for the removal of 300,000 Jews from Austria by the year 1942.

# DEMOCRACIES AND DICTATORSHIPS STRIVE FOR SECURITY

## FRANCE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

THE FIRST TASK of the French government after the war was reconstruction. Over one-eighth of its area was devastated by shot and shell, by pillage and military sabotage. Industry and mining were practically wiped out in the northern part of the country, and hundreds of villages were in ruins. It was decided that private losses should be recompensed by the state. To accomplish this purpose, gigantic loans were floated by the government to be repaid, partially at least, by German reparations payments.

The collection of reparations did not keep up to schedule, French leftists began to favor moderation of exactions from Germany, bitterly denouncing the government's policy, and in the elections of 1924 they won decisively. This leftist cabinet, which was soon in financial difficulties, was forced to resign and a crisis ensued. Under the premiership of Poincaré, a National Union ministry restored the financial competence of the nation by balancing the budget and stabilizing the value of the franc. Gradually France regained economic health as a result of Poincaré's policies and as industry and agriculture recovered from the war. In the parliamentary elections of 1928, his program was heartily endorsed, and all conservative and moderate parties increased their strength.



Paul's Photos, Chicago

LEON BLUM

"In 1935 the pendulum swung to the left, and a government composed of all radical groups was formed under Leon Blum."

Poincaré resigned in 1929 because of ill health, and for a number of years ministerial instability characterized the Republic. Nationalist Right and Socialist Left conflicted continually. Economic questions played a large part, as depression spread over the world. In 1935 the pendulum swung sharply to the left, and a Popular Front government, composed of all radical groups, was formed under Léon Blum as premier. The new government stood definitely committed to gradual socialization in France. The Blum government lasted until the summer of 1937, when the refusal of the upper chamber to grant him extraordinary financial powers resulted in a change in nominal leadership of the government, with Chautemps becoming premier.

### *GREAT BRITAIN, 1919-1937*

The Lloyd George coalition cabinet, under which England had finished the war, won a sweeping victory at the polls in December, 1918; but when the ministry was reconstructed, it reflected the dominant strength of the Conservative element in the coalition. Depression and unemployment were important problems which the new government had to face: various palliative measures were employed, but there could be no permanent solution until shipping and industry revived. The strength of the Conservatives made them restless under the leadership of the Liberal Lloyd George, and in 1922 they seceded from the coalition. In the ensuing election they gained a complete victory, although the Labor Party made a remarkable showing by annexing 142 seats.

Faced with continued unemployment, Baldwin, the new Conservative premier, decided to abandon England's traditional free-trade policy for one of protection. He took the issue to the country, and, although the Conservatives retained the largest number of seats in the House of Commons, they no longer were able to command a majority over all others. The people had definitely rejected protection; so Baldwin resigned, and, having the support of the Liberals, Ramsay MacDonald formed Britain's first Labor government. In the election the Labor party had increased their membership in Parliament by fifty.



Herbert Photos

#### FIRST COUNCIL OF THE NEW SPANISH REPUBLIC

President Niceto Alcalá Zamora seated at the head of the table at the first Council of Ministers under Spain's short-lived republican government.

April, 1931, when elections showed the strength of the Republican element and a revolution was threatened, Alphonse left for France after suspending the exercise of the royal power. A republic was proclaimed, a constitution drawn up, and numerous reforms instituted. Education was secularized, church property taken over by the state, and the land owned by the former king and the higher nobles was confiscated without compensation and distributed to about a million farmers.

Opposition to the Republic soon developed; both Rightists and Leftists caused trouble. In 1932 a royalist uprising was suppressed, and in 1933 a radical revolt broke out but soon collapsed. The election of 1933 revealed a marked Conservative tendency, and, as successive cabinets leaned more and more to the Right, the Left parties became dismayed and rose in revolution. The insurrection was bloody but short, and was so definitely suppressed that Conservatives and Moderates were left in a strong position.



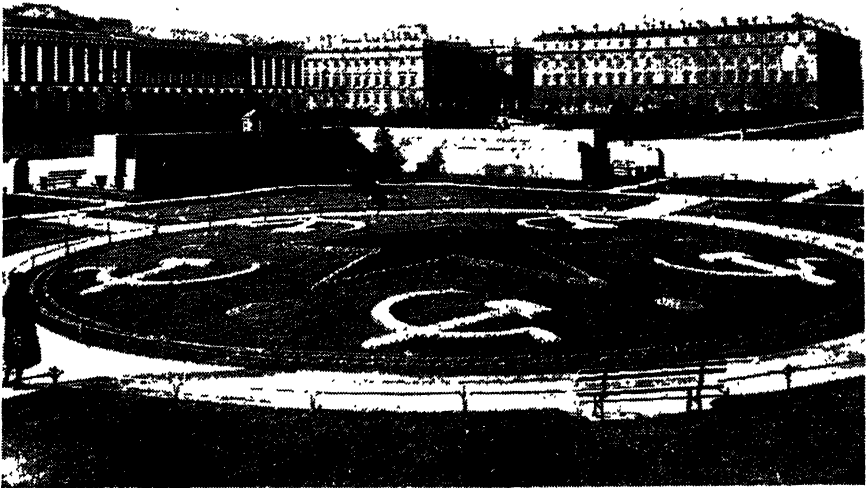
In 1936, however, radical groups scored heavily at the polls, and a popular coalition government took charge. A rebellion broke out, inspired by army officers, the large landholders and perhaps by the Church. The latter two groups opposed the land policy of the government, while the first objected to the retrenchments made in the overly-officered army; and, supported by Moorish troops, the Rebels advanced rapidly. However, defenses were hastily established by the Loyalists, and the insurgents failed to capture Madrid.

As the war developed, foreign elements became prominent on both sides. A Non-Intervention Committee of European Nations was set up, with important countries proclaiming neutrality and establishment of a blockade of the Spanish coast to prevent war materials from reaching either side. It was unsuccessful and foreign soldiers formed a large proportion of both armies.

Russians, and Leftists of all nations, wished to aid the Government while Germany and Italy began systematically to reinforce General Franco, the Rebel commander. Thousands of Italian and German troops and implements of war were sent to aid him. The Fascist aim of the Rebel party made the war almost a class struggle, with ensuing brutality; and savage reprisals marked the conduct of the war on both sides. In the spring of 1937, Franco's Italian divisions were routed in the Guadalajara region, but later developments in the year brought large Rebel gains.

### *NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AFTER THE WAR IN SOVIET RUSSIA*

The first problem of the Bolsheviks, after defeating the White Counter-Revolution and the assisting armies of the Allies, was to unify the territories which were left to Russia. During the early days of the Red Revolution many regions on the fringes of the old tsarist empire had become self-governing. Some of these were gradually absorbed in the Soviet republic already set up in Russia proper. After various negotiations, in 1922 there was proclaimed a new federation called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In form the government was federal, but in fact it was a highly centralized arrangement, with local governments having only



Courtesy Intourist, Inc.

LENINGRAD, RUSSIA: PLAZA OF THE MARTYRS OF THE REVOLUTION

limited powers. Fundamental authority was given to the central government, although the "cultural autonomy" of the local states was encouraged.

In its nature the new Russian government was a distinctly class government. The suffrage was sharply limited to citizens over eighteen years of age who were "productive workers," soldiers, sailors, and the wives in these groups. All private merchants, those who hired labor for profit, clergy, former tsarist officials, and persons with an income not earned by their own labor, were barred from voting or holding office.

The administration of justice in the Union was characterized by the cataloguing of political crimes as most serious. Capital punishment was reserved for only embezzlement and counter-revolutionary attempts, while personal crimes received but light sentences, the penalty for murder being but ten years' imprisonment. Freedom of speech and of press were non-existent in Russia. Opposition was suppressed ruthlessly, and as in Italy and Germany only the official party was permitted to exist.

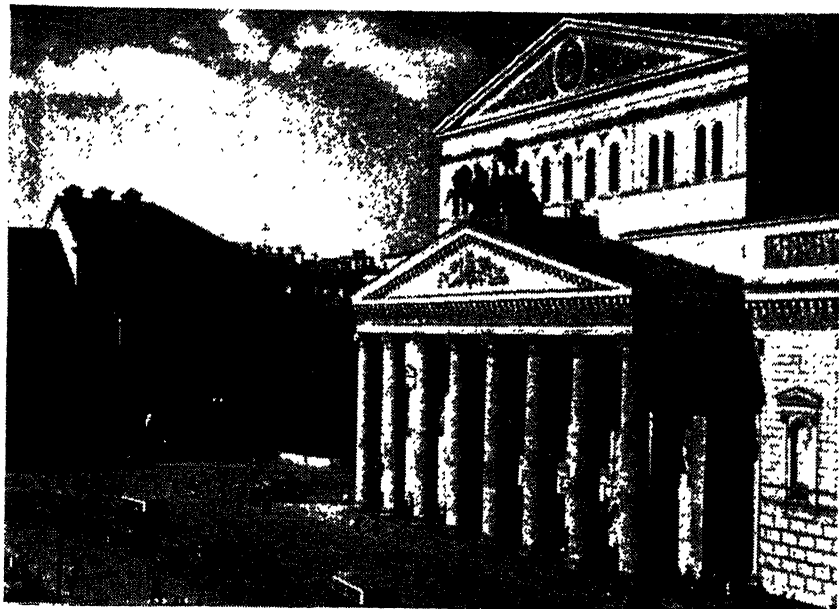
The Communist party in Russia was in reality an extra-constitutional government. Although it included less than seven million members out of Russia's one hundred and sixty millions of people, it controlled practically all offices. It was rigorously organized, from local cell to central committee, and included only active workers with a definite goal. Like Fascism, the Party relied on militant youth organizations to provide future leadership.

More far-reaching than the changes in the political system was the revolution in Russian economics effected by the Bolsheviks during the early years of their regime. Prevention of capitalist exploitation of the worker, and state ownership of all lands, forests, and minerals, as well as all means of production and distribution, were fundamental concepts. In line with this belief, the government, immediately after the November Revolution, took over all the land. In the following May peasants were ordered to deliver to the state, at a confiscatory price, all grain over and above a minimum for family use and seed.

But the peasants had thought that land nationalization meant that they themselves would take over the great estates of the crown, church, and nobility, so they now resisted the Bolshevik attempts to take away the grain. Although they used armed force at times, the peasants' most effective weapon was the passive policy of reducing crops. As a result, Russia was brought to the verge of famine. The Communist experiment was breaking down in the handling of its agricultural problem. Faced with the loss of their power as famine and discontent spread over the land, the Bolsheviks, under their leader, Lenin, instituted changes in their original economic system.

### *THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY*

This New Economic Policy (NEP) as it was called, allowed the peasants to rent land, hire workers for assistance, and to sell their produce to private traders, who were allowed to operate freely. While the land still was owned by the state, peasants were allowed permanent possession, as long as they used it. The



Courtesy Intourist, INC.

GRAND OPERA THEATER, MOSCOW, RUSSIA

NEP extended to industry too, as it returned small factories to private enterprise. Taken altogether, the NEP was a definite reaction from extreme theoretical communism back to a measure of capitalism, under, of course, a certain amount of state control.

With the inauguration of the NEP, trade and agriculture shook off their lethargy, and in the economic rise that followed, there began to appear again various classes of farmers. Those who profited most from the new plan and who became prosperous farmers or kulaks stood in contrast to the middle and lower classes of peasants. The kulaks hired farm hands, rented land of their poorer fellows, and received growing profits. This was a cause for alarm to the Soviet officials. From the outset the kulaks had opposed Soviet policies, especially that of land socialization; and now this class which was hostile to the existing regime, was benefiting the most from the NEP. To remedy this situation the government decided to embark on a more systematic and ruthless plan of land socialization.

*THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN*

The new policy was embodied in the first Five-Year Plan, a comprehensive program of development for the entire nation. Agriculturally, its aim was expansion of state and collectivized farms. Some advance was made the following year in this direction, but in 1930 more drastic methods were used to extend collectivization. Brigades of workers were sent to the country to enforce the government's decrees, and the kulaks were treated harshly. Their property was confiscated, and they were forbidden to join any collective farms. In reprisal the kulaks shot Soviet officials, slaughtered their own cattle, and burned granaries in an attempt to gain their ends by again causing national famine. The government retaliated with severer methods, even executing some of the kulaks, and by March fifty-five per cent of all peasant land had been collectivized.

At this juncture the government modified its policy by organizing artels, collective farms where certain possessions remained as private property. This was a concession to the middle-class peasants who had sided with the kulaks in complaining against the government. The artels contracted with the government to furnish all produce over the needs of their members; but the peasants opposed this policy. Government prices were still lower than market prices, so there was little incentive to increase their output. The government and the peasants often differed, too, as to how much constituted their "needs." Even in 1931, a famine year, the government made heavy exactions, for which it gave, according to the peasants, too little. In the following year, 1932, the peasants resisted passively, refusing to sow enough grain, letting it rot, or hiding it. As a result, the 1932 harvest was light, but the government rigorously exacted the fulfillment of its contracts. Famine, disease, and death resulted, and from one to two million people are estimated to have perished during this period.

To alleviate peasant hostility, the government again changed its policy that winter. It instituted a grain tax, the amount of which was to be decided before planting. The provision per-

24875



#### MAUSOLEUM OF LENIN, IN RED SQUARE, MOSCOW

The tomb of Lenin is the national shrine of the United Soviet Socialist Republics. Before this tomb, in the Kremlin, are held the greatest public celebrations of the Russian peoples.

mitting peasants to keep all of the surplus over the tax appealed to the profit motive and in consequence the harvest of 1933 was plentiful and by the end of the year 70,000,000 peasants were included in 200,000 collective farms comprising seventy-five per cent of the cultivated area.

The first Five-Year Plan had an industrial aspect also. It aimed at developing a Western industrial economy in Russia by the building of factories, railroads, and highways, and by creating better living conditions. It sought to transform the people culturally by establishing libraries, eliminating illiterates, and popularizing music. This plan was officially declared completed in December, 1932. It was followed by a second Five-Year Plan which aimed at developing lighter industries and complete literacy. Schools, under the plan, were made active Communist agencies, especially in discrediting all religion and churches.

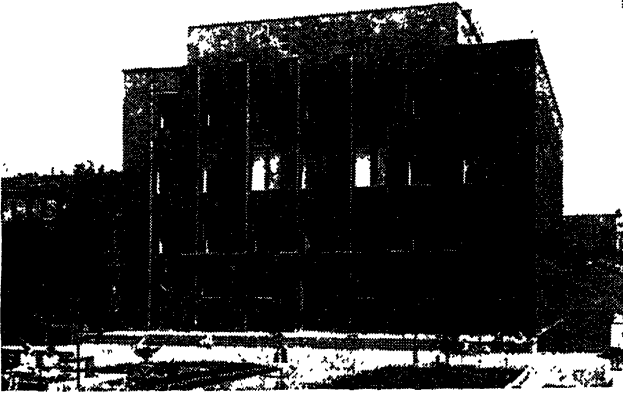
## *CHANGE IN POLITICAL POLICY*

In political affairs a definite change occurred in 1924 after the death of Lenin. Trotsky and Stalin, leaders of the Bolsheviks during and after the Revolution, each attempted to assume the leadership of the Party. Stalin believed in the more moderate policies of gradual acquisition of peasant land and the concentration on internal affairs, while Trotsky believed in the immediate acquisition of the peasants' holdings, and in aggressive attempts to foment world revolution. Stalin was victorious and Trotsky was ousted from the Comintern and exiled in 1920. This conflict between Stalin and Trotsky was felt not only in Soviet Russia, but among Communists throughout the world. It came to the fore in 1936 and 1937 with the famed trials for treason of former leaders of the Party. Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Radek were among the many who spectacularly confessed to the charge of plotting with Trotsky to assassinate Stalin and overthrow the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In June 1937, eight Soviet generals, including Marshal Tukhachevsky, were convicted of high treason and executed. This was followed by a renewed wave of purges and death sentences to numerous senior officials.

## *NEW CONSTITUTION*

By 1936 the government of Joseph Stalin felt that the first stage of Revolution had been completed—the dictatorship of the proletariat had firmly established the new Soviet state. Therefore a new, more democratic constitution was promulgated in December of that year. Under it, the supreme authority resided in the Supreme Council of the Union. It was divided into houses with equal powers. One house, the Council of the Union elected by direct universal suffrage, had representatives apportioned according to population. The other house, the Council of Nationalities, had its members chosen by the highest soviets of the republics and regions which make up the Union. Democratic features of the new constitution were to be found not only in the broadened

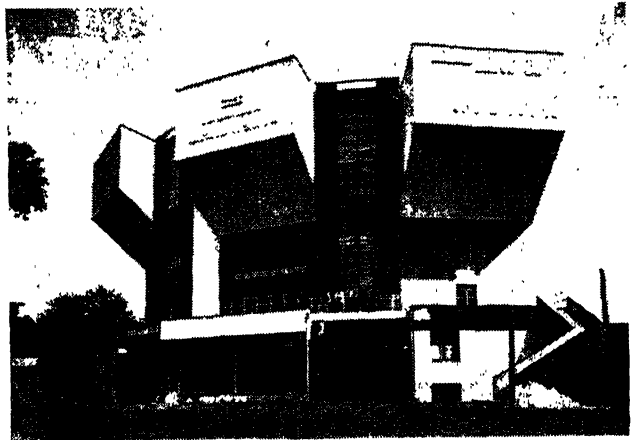


INSTITUTE  
OF LENIN IN  
MOSCOW

suffrage, but in the fact that the members of the Council were subject to recall by their constituents.

Appointed by the Supreme Council were the administrative and executive heads of the government, who are collectively known as the Council of People's Commissars. These officers were similar to the cabinet members of other democratic governments, but there exist additional Commissariats, such as the Committee for Purchasing Agricultural Products, the Commissariats for Heavy and Light Industry, and others, which were necessitated by the state's inclusive activities in the economic sphere.

Local government, as previously, is carried on by distinct rural and urban soviets. Education is free and compulsory for



A WORKERS'  
CLUB IN  
MOSCOW

Courtesy The Art  
Institute of Chicago



all children in the Union. Complete equality for men and women is stressed. All in all the constitution differs notably from its 1924 predecessor in that its provisions, as to both rights and duties, apply generally to all citizens of the Union rather than only to the proletariat and the poor peasants.

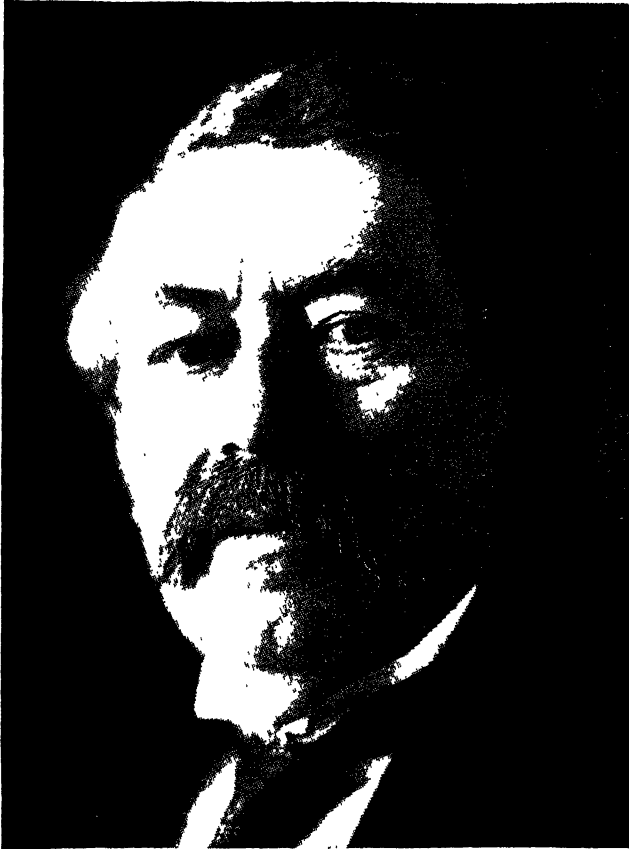
Though the Constitution of 1936 has been spoken of as the most democratic in the world, the one-party system, the ruthless suppression of opposition to the Communist party, the strict censorship, and the government propaganda machine all unite to limit the effectiveness of the constitution's democracy.

During the late 1920's and 1930's, democracy in Europe tended to decline, as has been noted. Besides the iron dictatorships of Russia, Germany, and Italy, there were dictatorial tendencies in Austria, Poland, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and especially in Spain. The reason for the success of dictators in Europe lay chiefly in the fact that democracy was a relatively new experiment there and lacked the background of experience. Furthermore, economic and social problems in Europe were growing more acute because of the upheavals and maladjustments caused by the World War and the Treaty of Versailles. It must also be noted that the great countries of western and northern Europe, England, France, the Netherlands, and all Scandinavia, retained their democratic governments and showed little tendency to join the growing group of dictatorships.

### THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY

After the horrors of the Great War, it was natural that European countries, especially the victorious nations, would be desirous of achieving security by various means. Security was interpreted by the Allies, as well as the newly-created states of Central Europe, to mean the maintenance of the *status quo* as outlined by the Versailles Treaty. The creation of a League of Nations was considered an effective method of guaranteeing the much-desired security.

France was particularly interested in safeguarding her new prestige in Europe and made various diplomatic efforts to bring about mutual peace agreements. She succeeded in getting an in-



Underwood & Underwood photo

ARISTIDE BRIAND

Briand's co-operation with the German foreign minister, Stresemann, brought about ratification of the Locarno Pact.

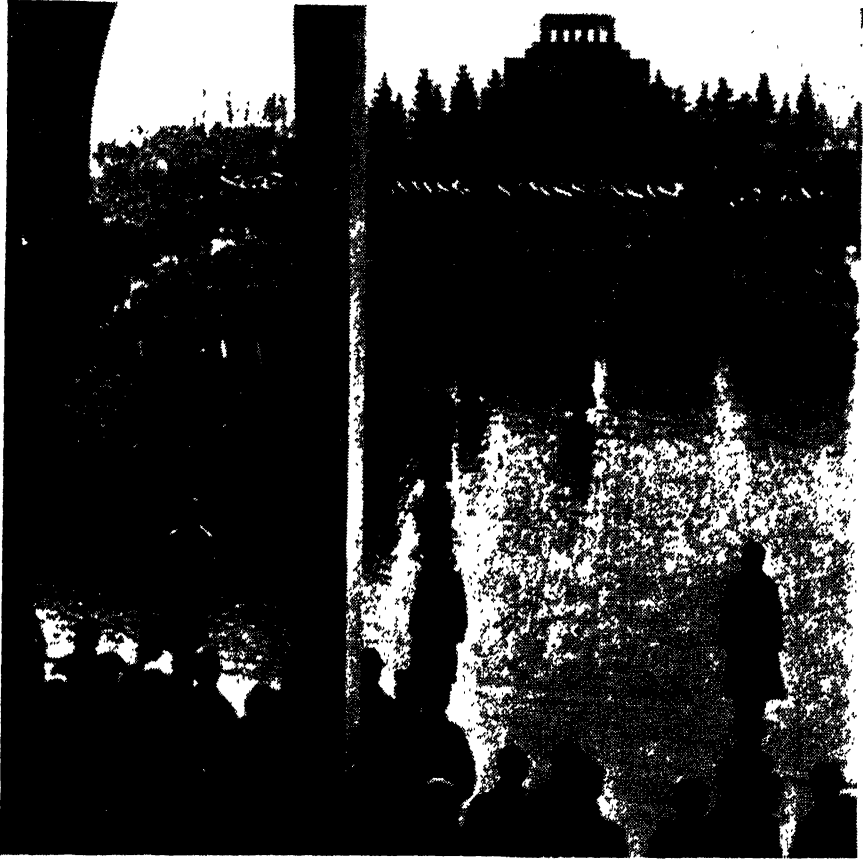
ternational commission to classify certain vague points in the League Covenant, dealing with the definition of an aggressor and the exact means to be taken to discipline an aggressor. The "Geneva Protocol," as the resulting agreement was called, failed because of opposition from England. France sought further security by concluding a defensive military alliance with Belgium in 1920, and other alliances with Poland, Czechoslovakia, and finally, in 1935, with Russia.

The co-operation of the French diplomat, Aristide Briand, and the German foreign minister, Gustav Stresemann, brought about the ratification of the Locarno Pact, in which Germany re-

nounced any attempt to obtain a modification of her western boundaries by the use of military force. Another important step in the search for security was the signing by almost every nation of the world of the Kellogg-Briand Pact for the outlawing of war. None of these treaties, however, successfully solved the international problems in Europe, for the vanquished nations continued to press for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, while France and her late allies remained hostile to any plan which might deprive them of their spoils of the war.

In central and eastern Europe fear of the return of the Hapsburgs and alteration of the *status quo* established by the peace settlement led to moves for collective security. Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia formed the "Little Entente" which they bulwarked by treaties with Italy and France. The countries bordering on Russia made agreements to support each other in opposition to any projects of annexation by the USSR, while Russia, in return, sought to establish a group of buffer states between her and the great capitalistic nations of the West, especially that of Nazi Germany. Poland, which had been close to France, immediately after the war developed friendly relations with Germany, although after the triumph of Hitler, the Poles, alarmed at the Nazi threat, began to look toward France again.

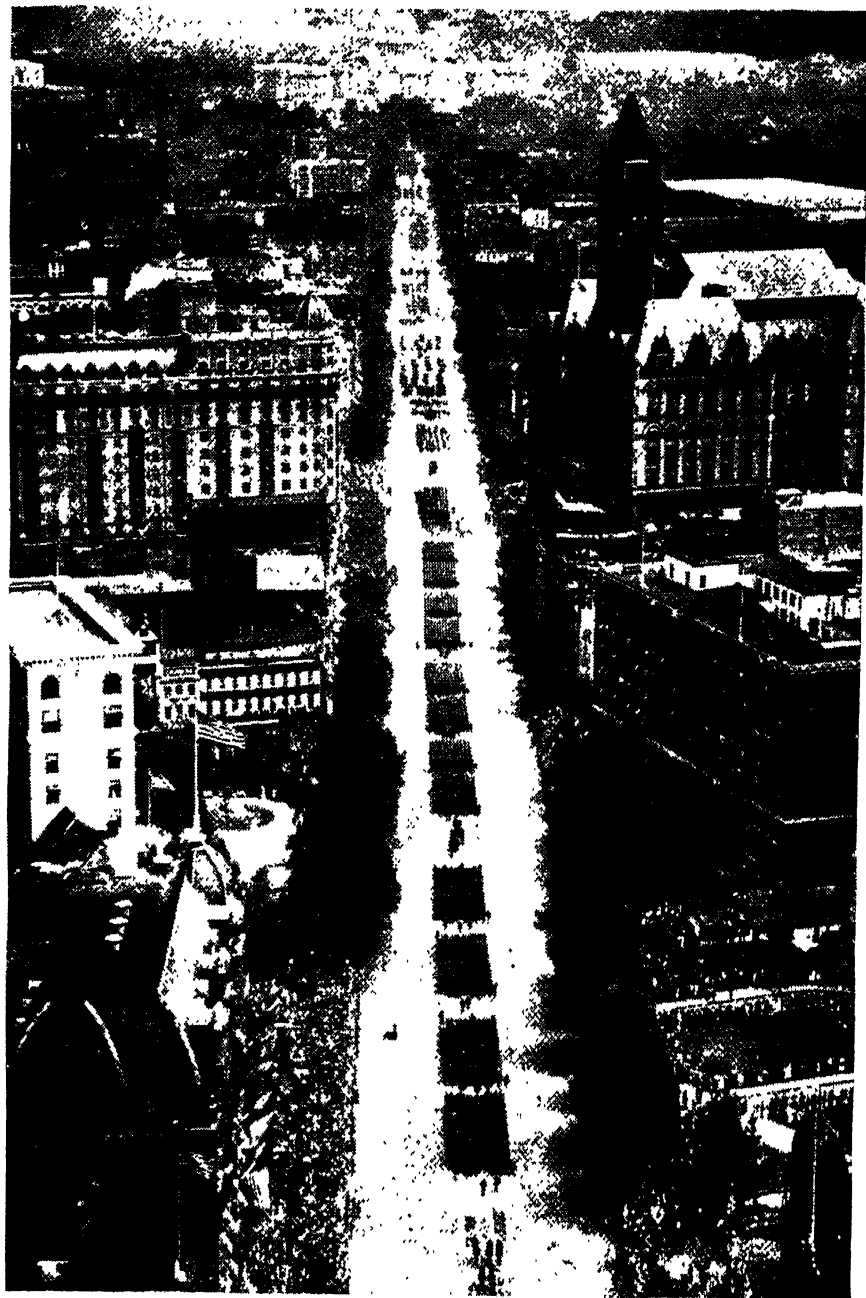
Diplomatic efforts were not the only ones tried to preserve peace in the post-war period. Force of arms continued to be relied on heavily, and great armament programs reminiscent of pre-war days were drawn up, although there were attempts to limit them. Naval arms of the great powers were put on definite ratios in the Washington Arms Conference in 1921, but ten years later fear and distrust had developed to such an extent that the Paris and London Naval Conferences ended with virtually nothing accomplished, and finally Japan announced that she was abrogating the Washington Treaty, which permitted her only three capital ships to five for both England and United States. Attempts to limit land armaments ended in failure, too, with the break-up of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Throughout Europe remained the problem of reconciling security and disarmament.



International News photo

## A RUSSIAN MILITARY DISPLAY IN RED SQUARE, MOSCOW

Forgetful of the lessons of the Great War, the nations of Europe in the post-war period fostered strong national feelings. The deification of the state in Italy, Germany, and Russia welded the nationalistic spirit in each country into a definite threat toward other nations. Fear pervaded the atmosphere, and all nations entered a life-and-death armament race. Russia, Italy, and Germany developed formidable fighting machines, and the threat implied in the nationalistic ideals of the Fascist nations made the democratic countries in Europe resort to extensive defensive preparations also.



THE RETURN OF THE "DOUGHBOYS"

## REPUBLICAN REACTION

### WILSON DISILLUSIONED

THE PROVISION OF the Treaty of Versailles which touched American affairs most closely was the program for future peace. To solve this problem, a covenant of the League of Nations was incorporated in the treaty. This provision was heartily supported and sponsored by President Wilson, and included such matters as the reduction of armaments, and sane discussion of international quarrels, the publicity of treaties, and the punishment of those nations that began war in disregard of the covenant. It can be seen today that this program has had little effect upon nations that wish to embark on aggressive imperialistic projects.

Six days before the signing of the Armistice, the congressional elections were held in the United States. Although President Wilson was quoted as saying "politics is adjourned," meaning that the political parties should forget their differences and aid in a satisfactory reconstruction, nevertheless, the Republican party, which opposed the president, very severely criticized his actions. The Republicans insisted that their party had done more to help carry on the war than the Democrats, and declared that Wilson had refused to prepare for the inevitable conflict.

President Wilson replied by asking the people of the country to approve his leadership by electing a Democratic majority to Congress. But the Republican forces proved too strong for the



SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH OF  
IDAHO

Borah was altogether opposed to the entire plan of the League of Nations.

war-torn Wilson administration. Former Presidents Taft and Roosevelt together appealed to the voters to elect a Republican Congress on the basis that Republican leadership would deal more effectively with Germany.

### *REPUBLICANS WIN ELECTIONS*

The Republicans won the congressional elections in a landslide and elected twenty-one out of thirty-one governors. In the Senate, a large Democratic majority was transformed into a Republican majority of two; and in the House of Representatives, the Republicans won a majority of more than forty members.

Thus it may be seen why an influential group of American politicians so strongly opposed President Wilson's peace program. It was felt, too, that the president had snubbed the Senate by declining to ask its advice in the negotiations of the peace treaty and by refusing to appoint a single senator on the peace commission.

In the light of these happenings, the events of the years succeeding the war may be largely understood as a struggle between the executive and the legislative branches of the government. Although the Democrats had controlled the government for six years, the task of handling the post-war problems was in the hands of the Republicans.

The first drive against President Wilson was the active criticism of the League of Nations by many senators. They complained that the independence of the United States was threatened, that the council of the League could force the United States to declare war upon another nation, and that purely domestic questions might be open to interference by foreign powers.

More than a dozen senators, headed by William E. Borah of Idaho, were opposed to the entire plan of the League; but the majority led by Lodge of Massachusetts, then chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, believed in accepting it as part of the treaty with certain changes and reservations.

*THE TREATY DEFEATED*

In September, 1919, the president toured the country in an effort to explain the terms of the treaty to the people and to build up public approval of his policies which would force the Senate to drop its opposition. Fortunately or unfortunately, President Wilson suffered a nervous breakdown due to strain and overwork, and was compelled to return to Washington where he was too ill to take part in public affairs.

When the vote on the treaty was taken, on November 19, 1919, the treaty both with and without Senator Lodge's amendments and reservations was rejected. President Wilson rose from his sickbed upon hearing of this decision and stated that he would not resubmit the treaty to the Senate, but rather would carry the question directly to the people. This was interpreted as meaning that Wilson intended to make this problem the issue of the 1920 presidential election. Again the Senate considered the treaty, this time devoting much debate to Article X which insisted upon international co-operation, but once more the treaty failed of approval by a vote of 49 in favor to 35 against, less than the required two-thirds majority.

At the same time that the nation was occupied with problems of peace-time adjustment with other nations, private industry in America was advancing to a point where some solution of business organization was necessary.

*SETTLEMENT WITH THE RAILROADS*

An act of Congress in 1918 provided that the utilities which were being used for government purposes, must be returned to their owners within twenty-one months after the end of the war. Thus, in the summer of 1919 the telephone, telegraph, and cable lines were handed back to private ownership, but by the end of the year the railroads were still in the hands of the government, and no plan had been drawn up for their restoration to private owners.

Many people wished to leave the operation of the railroads in the government's control, and Director-General McAdoo asked



that the twenty-one-month period be lengthened in order to study the question more deeply. Congress, however, did not approve of his suggestion, and also refused to adopt the so-called "Plumb plan," in which the railroad workers would obtain a part in the management of the roads.

In February, 1920, Congress passed the Esch-Cummins, or Transportation Act, one of the most complicated pieces of American legislation in modern times. This act repealed the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as it applied to railways, and encouraged their consolidation into "systems" instead of individual companies. Despite the opposition of the workers themselves, who insisted that the bill was very unfair to labor, President Wilson signed it, and a few days later the railroads were back in the hands of their former private owners.

For some time afterwards the Esch-Cummins act remained an object of much discussion and argument. The workers, farmers, and several politicians, including Senator La Follette, believed that the railroads had profited unfairly by the measure and that the public was made to suffer through the government's payment of huge sums to the railroads as compensation for losses during wartime operation.

## *INDUSTRIAL UNREST*

America was the scene of much labor unrest and industrial quarrels in 1919 and 1920. During the war labor and capital had joined hands to such an extent that Samuel Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor, promised that labor would not strike during the time of war production.

But after the war had ceased, there was a spread of strikes and labor troubles from coast to coast. Sailors, firemen, clothing workers, carpenters, steel workers, policemen, waiters, barbers, streetcar men, and others went out on strike, one after another until industry was almost at a standstill. The reasons given for this labor trouble were the return of the troops to civilian life, the rising cost of living, and the general disorder resulting from the emergency years of the war in which the natural course of political and economic affairs had been severely disarranged.



International News photo

**SAMUEL GOMPERS**

Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, promised that labor would not strike during war production.



International News photo

**EUGENE V. DEBS.**

President of American Railway Union and labor leader and several times Socialist candidate for president.

Labor blamed the greed of capital for the unrest, and capital blamed the greed of the workers for higher wages as the causes of the unsettled conditions. So great was their division that a conference of labor, capital, and representatives of the general public, which President Wilson called together at Washington, broke up in complete disagreement.

The most important of the labor troubles of these years was the great coal strike which began on November 1, 1919. Almost a half-million men in the bituminous coal fields laid down their tools and demanded a sixty per cent increase in wages and the guarantee of a minimum of thirty hours of work a week. However, as America was still technically at war with Germany, the President had the power to regulate the fuel supply, and his administrator compelled the men to settle the strike which a few months later brought the miners a wage increase of twenty-seven per cent.

## PROHIBITION AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Another important event of those years immediately following the war was the amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. In December, 1917, after many states had already gone "dry" during the war, Congress approved and the states ratified the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which went into effect in 1920. The importance and results of this prohibitory enactment will be discussed later.

Also, in the late summer of 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified. This act removed sex as a basis for suffrage disqualification. Many states had at first refused to consider ratification of this proposal, but after a difficult and exciting battle led by the women's organizations, the measure won out, and thus 8,000,000 more voters were added in the presidential election of 1920.

## REPUBLICANS IN CONTROL

Chicago was the scene of the Republican nominating convention in June of 1920. Neither of the two candidates first considered, Leonard Wood, who was Theodore Roosevelt's political heir, nor Frank O. Lowden, then governor of Illinois, could gain a majority of votes. On the tenth ballot, much to the surprise of the country at large, a "dark-horse" candidate, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, was chosen. The vice-presidential nomination went to Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, who had come into the public attention by decided action in a strike of Boston policemen in 1919.

The Democratic convention, meeting in the same month at San Francisco, had an even more trying contest. William G. McAdoo, President Wilson's son-in-law, and Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer experienced the same difficulties in commanding a majority as did Wood and Lowden in the Republican convention. Finally, on the forty-fourth ballot, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio was chosen.

Of the two minor parties, the Socialists picked as their presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs, who was at the time serving

a term in prison for his objectionable activities during the war. The new Farmer-Labor party nominated P. P. Christensen of Utah.

### *RETURN TO NORMALCY*

Strangely enough the problems of war and foreign policy did not affect the election so much as domestic questions such as taxation, labor disputes, the high cost of living, and, especially, popular reaction against "Wilsonism." The election was a Republican landslide. Harding and Coolidge won the entire North and West and even made inroads into the traditionally "Solid South" by carrying Tennessee. The electoral vote was 404 to 127, and the Republicans totaled 7,000,000 more popular votes than their opponents. The Republicans also greatly increased their majorities in both houses of Congress.

President Harding's choice of a cabinet met with great popularity. As Secretary of State he selected Charles E. Hughes, and as Secretary of Commerce, Herbert C. Hoover, who had done notable work during the war period. Another important cabinet member was Andrew W. Mellon, a Pittsburgh banker, who was made Secretary of the Treasury. Theodore Roosevelt, who had died in 1919 as a result of tropical fever contracted in Brazil, was represented by his son, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., who was made Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

The new Republican administration had many serious problems to face. A depression, which began late in 1919, was very pronounced during 1920, and a real crisis was evident. This financial crisis, of course, was world-wide and the direct result of the ravages of war. In the fall of 1920 prices had fallen so rapidly that a delegation of farmers and producers visited the capital to ask for direct relief. Their pressure resulted in the creation of a national budget, an emergency tariff, and a loan of two billion dollars to the farmers and producers.

On May 11, 1921, President Harding called a special session of the Sixty-Seventh Congress. In his message he asked Congress to economize, to ease the tax burden, and to reduce the high cost of living and the railway rates. The most important

part of his program, however, dealt with the budget system, and as director of the budget the president appointed Charles G. Dawes, a Chicago banker and financier. Also passed during the special session of Congress were a veterans'-bureau act, a packers'-control act, an anti-beer law, and an emergency-tariff act.

President Harding's views on the League of Nations were directly opposed to those of President Wilson's. America, according to his policy, should keep out of any alliance with other nations, but would be glad to see the European countries live in harmony. Meanwhile, America was still technically at war with Germany, although all fighting had ceased three years earlier. Congress passed an act in July, 1921, which declared the war over, and offered peace terms to Germany and Austria, which nations agreed to them the next month.

### *THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE*

Harding, evincing his interest in world affairs, invited an international conference to meet in Washington in November of the same year to discuss naval disarmament, especially in the Pacific area. Great Britain, France, Japan, Holland, Portugal, Belgium, China, and Italy were present, and representing the United States were Secretary of State Hughes, former Secretary of State Elihu Root, and Senators Lodge and Underwood.

Although the time for disarmament was excellent, and the people were in a mood that earnestly reflected peace, there were many difficulties in the way of success. That the conference did accomplish as much as it did was attributed to Secretary Hughes, who had been made permanent chairman. He at the start suggested that for the next fifteen years there should be no further building of ships, and that the navies of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan should scrap their old battle-ships and all larger ships in the process of construction.

There was a great deal of deliberation over these questions, and the agreements finally adopted, although less extensive than Hughes had hoped for, were most certainly favorable to peace



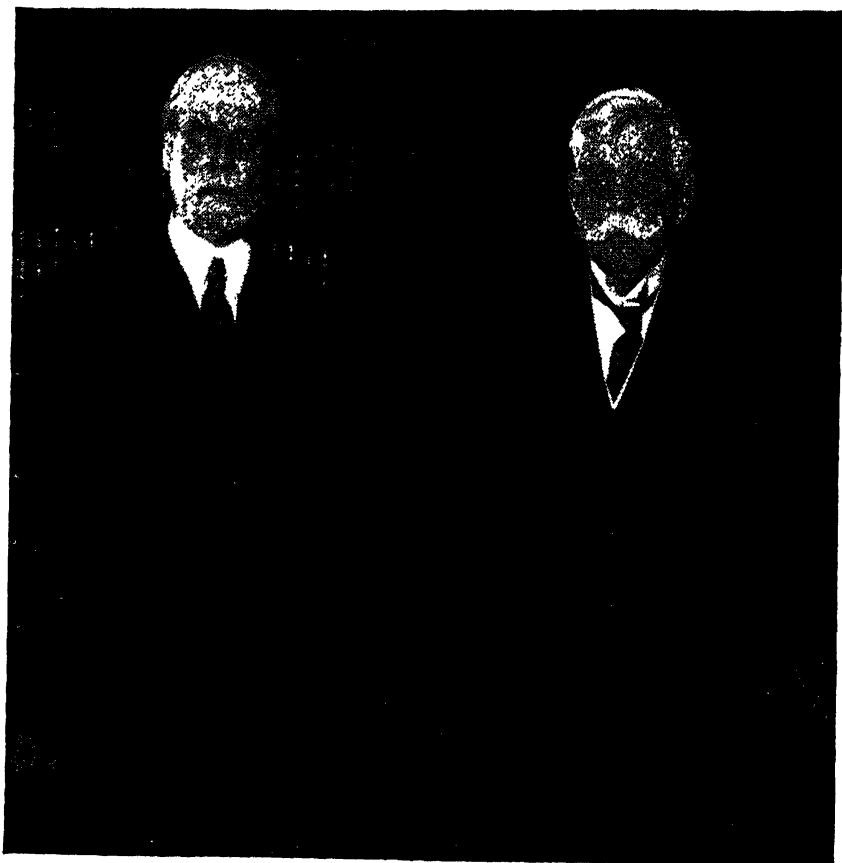
AIR VIEW OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

so far as naval warfare was concerned. The most important result was the establishment of a naval quota for the Great Powers. England, the United States, and Japan were placed on a 5:5:3 ratio, respectively; while France and Italy each received a quota basis of 1.75 in relation to the first three Powers. Perhaps the most significant agreement was the Nine-Power Pact safeguarding the territorial integrity of China and island possessions in the Pacific. Japan's frequent and flagrant disregard of this pact laid her open to serious international indictment.

The mid-term elections in the fall of 1922 showed a considerable decrease in the popularity of the Republican administration. Although the coal strike had been settled, a railroad strike had taken its place; and the questions of farm relief and taxation were stumbling-blocks for the government. Secretary Mellon of the Treasury was accused of favoring the rich in the operation of his office, and the voters disapproved of President Harding's violent opposition to the League of Nations. These

factors explain why the Republicans lost more than 150 members in the House of Representatives, and their majority in the Senate was reduced to only eight votes.

President Harding's death forestalled the need of his dealing with this divided Congress. In the summer of 1923, while visiting Alaska, he became ill of ptomaine poisoning, and died at San Francisco, August 2, 1923. His death was followed by the revelation of political scandals reminiscent of the Reconstruction period after the Civil War.



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CHARLES EVANS HUGHES AND OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES  
Eminent members of the United States Supreme Court. Hughes was also Secretary of State  
in the Harding administration.

# PROSPERITY—DEPRESSION—AND THE NEW DEAL

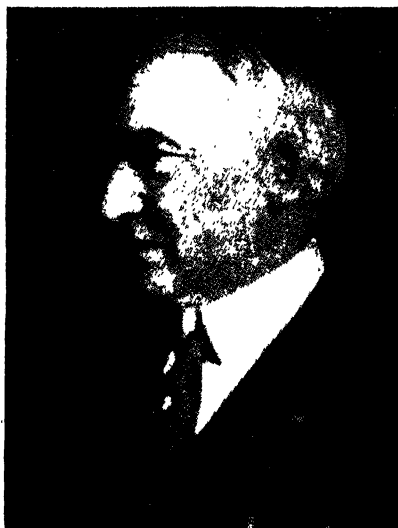
## SCANDALS INHERITED FROM HARDING

VICE-PRESIDENT COOLIDGE was administered the oath of office by his father in his Vermont home, a few hours after news came of Harding's death. Coolidge was a quiet, efficient man of simple tastes, with a more or less unimaginative mind. He announced his intention of retaining the cabinet and administrative program of the late President.

Coolidge also inherited from the previous regime several very embarrassing scandals. The first one involved the mis-appropriation of over \$200,000,000 in the administration of the Veterans' Bureau. C. R. Forbes, its director, was indicted and convicted on this charge in 1924.

A second exposure revealed the secret leasing, by Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall, of naval oil reserves in Wyoming (Teapot Dome) and California to private concerns. Secretary Fall retired from the cabinet under grave suspicion and in 1929 was found guilty of bribery. Attorney-General Daugherty was also forced to resign his office on incriminating charges of a Senate committee.

Although Coolidge was not blamed for any part in the Harding scandals he was able to get along no better with Congress than did the previous executive, and in fact even many of the Republicans refused to concur with his policies. He tried



Courtesy Chicago Public Library

WARREN G. HARDING



to kill the Bonus Bill in 1924 and Congress passed it over his veto. He proposed Mellon's system of taxation and Congress disapproved of it. As a matter of fact, in almost every phase of administration Coolidge and Congress were at loggerheads.

### COOLIDGE POPULARITY

Coolidge was more popular with the common people than with the legislators, as the 1924 presidential campaign proved. At the Republican nominating convention, which met in Cleveland in June, Coolidge won on the first ballot, by the overwhelming vote of 1065 votes, with only 34 for La Follette and 10 for Hiram Johnson. Charles G. Dawes of Illinois was nominated as vice-president when Governor Lowden of the same state declined the honor.

The Democratic nominating committee met in New York in the same month. A bitter battle ensued between William G. McAdoo and Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. Finally after one hundred and three ballots, John W. Davis of West Virginia, was nominated. Governor Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska was nominated as vice-president.

Another complication of the 1924 presidential election was the formation of an independent Progressive party by Senator La Follette, a former Republican, who attacked Coolidge for his treatment of the farmers. La Follette was named as the candidate for president, and Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana as vice-president. The Socialist party endorsed this ticket. Although it was expected that this group would carry several western states they won only La Follette's home state, Wisconsin.

Coolidge's victory was almost as decisive as had been Harding's in 1920. He won 35 states and 382 electoral votes. The Democrats won only twelve southern states. Thus, Coolidge, who came to the White House through death, was made president through election, by a sweeping personal victory.



Photo by J. Jay Hirz

CALVIN COOLIDGE

"Coolidge was immensely more popular with the common people than with the legislators, as the presidential campaign proved."



FRANK B. KELLOGG

Secretary of State during the Coolidge administration who took a leading role in the development of the Paris Peace Pact of 1928.

## COOLIDGE PROSPERITY

The four years of the Coolidge administration were the most prosperous in the history of the nation. International problems were not numerous, and domestic affairs were at a peak of production and increase in the national budget. Coolidge has been called the "business man's president," and it is true that under his administration corporations and industries were almost completely free of any restrictions and control. Coolidge believed in laissez faire economics, that is, allowing business as much freedom as possible, with a minimum of government supervision.

The only exception to the general spread of prosperity was that ever-present farm problem, as the country seemed to be growing richer at the expense of the farmers. The average farmer

of that period had an income of less than \$800 a year, which was considerably less than that of a school teacher, a preacher, or government employee—all of whom are usually poorly paid.

The rise of local and state taxes after the war, and the rising prices for farm implements placed a great burden upon the farmer. For three years, from 1924 to 1927, the "farm bloc" in Congress urged measures to help the farmers. President Coolidge vetoed the McNary-Haugen farm bill a second time in the spring of 1928. The farmers believed that the president was doing this in the interest of business as opposed to them, and a storm of protest arose.

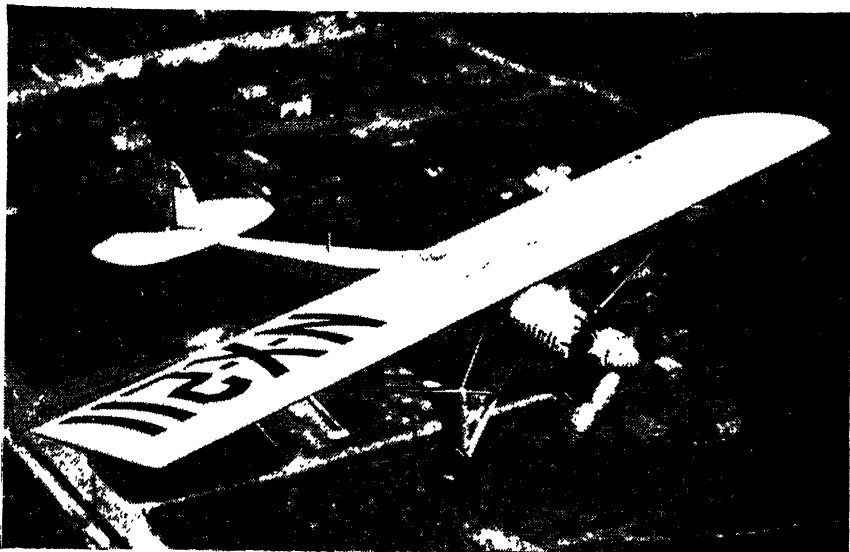
On the whole, though, in spite of the exposures of the Harding administration, the four years of the Coolidge administration were among the most quiet and uneventful in modern American history; historians have likened it to the lull that precedes the storm. From 1925 to 1928 America had its boom years. Industry, the stock market, real-estate, and commerce were soaring to new heights. President Coolidge reduced taxes and expended some of the excess income on government engineering projects.

### *FOREIGN POLICY*

United States' participation in foreign affairs was relatively unimportant during Coolidge's regime. There were slight conflicts with Mexico and Nicaragua which the government finally conciliated both by a show of force and by diplomacy. A factor which acted for peace and understanding with these countries was the Sixth Pan-American Congress which met at Havana in 1928. A world conference held at Geneva in 1927, at Coolidge's suggestion, for further naval armament reductions, resulted in failure.

America signed the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact in 1928, a treaty which, sponsored jointly by Briand of France and Secretary of State Kellogg, proposed to outlaw war and settle all disputes peacefully.

Another important element that contributed to prosperity was the increasing interest in aviation. The growth of this industry, which in 1937 represented billions of dollars in investments, was stimulated by Charles A. Lindbergh whose non-stop flight in



International News photo

#### "WE" IN FLIGHT

Lindbergh piloting his famous plane, "Spirit of St. Louis," just before he flew the Atlantic.

the *Spirit of St. Louis* from New York to Paris in May, 1927, aroused the interest of the entire world. Polar expeditions were begun as a result of aviation improvements and Admiral Richard E. Byrd was thus enabled to explore the heretofore unknown Antarctic areas.

#### CAMPAIGN OF 1928

The presidential campaign of 1928, as compared with the campaigns of the preceding eight years, was cool and orderly. President Coolidge, when asked whether he intended to be a candidate for re-election, issued his famous statement: "I do not choose to run."

Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, was chosen as the Republican candidate for president on the first ballot. Senator Charles E. Curtis of Kansas was named as his running mate. The Democrats proposed almost a half-dozen candidates, but Governor Alfred E. Smith won the nomination, also on the first ballot, with Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas as candidate for the vice-presidency.

Hoover swept the election, carrying forty states and capturing 444 electoral votes to Smith's 87. Norman Thomas, the

Socialist candidate for president, whose platform was more inclusive than either of the major candidates, received only a quarter of a million votes. The Republicans again returned a substantial majority to both houses of Congress.

The peaceful and prosperous condition of the country lasted only one year after Hoover's election. In October, 1929, the stock-market crashed, ruining banks and business enterprises and putting the country into the most desperate financial condition in its history.

Prosperity had made the people careless. Business corporations, unsupervised by the government, took great risks and gambled with their investors' money. The bubble that was "prosperity" had burst, and Hoover and the conservative Republicans were at a loss to remedy the panic. Several government measures were attempted which were expected to halt the downward trend, but all failed. Constantly assuring the people that "prosperity was just around the corner," in an attempt to bolster up public confidence, as bank after bank was forced to close, Hoover fell into the most intense popular disfavor of any president in recent times.

### *THE ELECTION OF 1932*

In 1932, after three years of depression, it was evident that the Republicans with a hostile Congress and a dissatisfied constituency could not relieve the acute economic situation. Meeting in convention at Chicago in June, 1932, despite many of their leaders' objections to Hoover's policies, the Republicans nominated him for re-election.

The Democratic party, at last, had the chance for which it had been waiting. At its convention in the same city two weeks later, it adopted a short but forceful platform which called for repeal of the Prohibition Amendment, that had been the cause of racketeering and other illegitimate enterprises for many years; and asked for a sound currency and a cut in federal expenses.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, was nominated for the presidency on a compromise ballot, with John N. Garner of Texas as his running-mate. Mr. Roosevelt broke precedent and flew from New York to the convention to accept the nomination in person.

Some people contended that President Roosevelt did in 1932 the things which Hoover should have done in 1929. A list of his activities which appeared to stop the descent of the depression includes the early repeal of Prohibition and the complementary boom of the distillery industry; a devaluated dollar; government services which gave aid to the farmers, workers, and business men, such as the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Reciprocal Tariff Act, and many others. He created a direct relief agency for families

who were impoverished because of the depression, and a Civilian Conservation Corps for young men who could not find jobs in private industries.



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

President Roosevelt believed in what is called "social planning," which previous executives, fearing to alienate the more conservative groups, had hesitated to advocate. He asserted that the depression was due to "economic royalists" who sacrificed the welfare of the nation to their own profits.

Naturally such a program of helping the common people, or the "forgotten man," by regulating business, was objectionable to many business men. The Republican party and most of the newspapers toward the end of 1933 violently opposed the president's policies and his "Brain Trust" of specialists and professors who were called in to adjust domestic problems.

While the president was taking steps in an attempt to cure the country of its economic illness, other schemes, some impractical and dictatorial, were suggested by prominent men. Among these were the "Share the Wealth" program of Governor Huey

Long, the political dictator of Louisiana; the old age pension plan of Townsend; the Union for Social Justice sponsored by the Reverend Coughlin of Detroit; and the EPIC (End Poverty in California) movement of Upton Sinclair of California.

The Supreme Court declared many of Roosevelt's acts, such as the NRA and AAA, unconstitutional, and thus caused his program of recovery to progress more slowly than he had anticipated.

Great engineering projects such as the Boulder Dam and the Tennessee Valley development, were continued, while construction was begun on Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams on the Columbia River.

Roosevelt startled the country in January, 1935 by asking Congress for the huge sum of \$4,880,000,000 to be spent under his direction. Public works were pushed, and the cost of relief was not reduced.

At executive behest, Congress passed the Wagner Labor Disputes Act in June, 1935. Its machinery was used with varying success in the labor disputes of the next year. The Guffey Coal Stabilization Act set up a commission to establish a code regulating the industry. A Farm Credit Act, the Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Act, later declared unconstitutional, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1935 made further attempts to alleviate the suffering in the drought-stricken farm areas.

Roosevelt, in sponsoring the Public Utility Holding Act, made an effort to regulate the extensive holdings of public utility companies. A banking act made permanent a government plan of insuring bank deposits up to \$5,000. Another measure which caused much protest from the more conservative propertied groups, was the Wealth-Tax Act, increasing the surtaxes on annual incomes of \$50,000 and over.

### *ELECTION OF 1936*

In the presidential campaign of 1936, the anti-Roosevelt forces redoubled their attacks upon the administration. It is estimated that eighty per cent of the press was editorially opposed to the New Deal. Nevertheless, President Roosevelt, unanimously nomi-

nated for re-election, swept aside the Republican nominee, Governor Alf M. Landon of Kansas, in the greatest landslide of American history, winning 27,000,000 popular votes, with 508 electoral votes, and carrying forty-six out of forty-eight states; truly potent testimony for the popularity of the president's program with the American people.

When President Roosevelt resumed his office on January 20, 1937, in accordance with the recently adopted Twentieth Amendment, the worst of the depression appeared to be broken. Business was better than it had been for the preceding seven years. Unemployment was receding; and the morale of the people was vastly improved.

Beginning early in 1937, President Roosevelt campaigned for a reduction in the power of the Supreme Court. This, again, met with opposition, and Roosevelt was forced to modify his stand, although he did effect some important changes in the Federal judiciary. To fill the vacancy created by Justice Van Devanter's retirement from the Supreme bench, Roosevelt appointed Senator Hugo L. Black of Alabama to the position, amidst a storm of protest due to Black's early connections with the Ku Klux Klan.

The first nine months of 1937 saw continued rejuvenation of business and a general upward swing in industry. In the fall of that year the main questions that lay before the administration were the continuation of the program of "social planning" and the enlargement of the Supreme Court. It was the aim of the president that the Court should better represent the will of the people in their desire for a more liberal government; that it should protect their interests in times of prosperity and thus avoid the possibility of suffering and depression in future years. A threatening bear market on Wall Street late in the summer of 1937 resulted in government reassertion of early attempts to balance the budget.

### *FOREIGN POLICY OF ROOSEVELT*

Intensely concerned with internal economic questions, while every nation was striving frantically to solve its own depression-born problems, the United States displayed little activity in the



field of foreign affairs in the early portion of Roosevelt's first administration.

The London Economic Conference of 1933, called to consider the stabilization of world currency, failed in its objectives because of Roosevelt's refusal to co-operate. *De jure* recognition was accorded Soviet Russia in November of the same year. The participation of the United States in the seventh Pan-American Congress at Buenos Aires is mentioned below.

As the pressing problems at home were relieved, the government turned more attention to questions of foreign policy and trade. Reciprocal trade treaties were negotiated with several Latin-American and European countries. The McDuffie-Tydings Act in 1934 provided for the complete independence of the Philippines by 1944. The Platt Amendment, which had always been resented by Cuba as an infringement on her sovereignty, was abandoned.

America's traditional desire to remain neutral in foreign conflicts resulted in the Neutrality Act of 1935. As renewed and amended in 1936, the Act provided that American economic relations with belligerent countries would be severed and the lives and property of its citizens would not be protected by the government, when the president declared that a state of war existed between two or more countries. The Act of 1935 was invoked in the Italo-Ethiopian War, and under the Act of 1936 a state of war was declared to exist in Spain.

In a speech at Chicago in October, 1937, Roosevelt declared that the "peace-loving nations" of the world must act together if a repetition of the holocaust of 1914-1918 was to be prevented. Shortly after this speech, under the Nine-Power Pact guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China, a conference was called to meet at Brussels in an attempt to mediate between the warring nations.

## PROMINENT TRENDS IN LATIN AMERICA

### AMERICAN REPUBLICS IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE TWENTY LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS emerged from the World War with their material possessions enhanced. The war demand for their products, together with the large-scale investment of foreign capital, produced a period of economic, social, and political progress between the years of 1919-1929 which was unparalleled in Latin-American history. Nor had these republics had to pay the price exacted of other nations for their advancement in this period. Only eight of them had declared war on Germany; five had severed diplomatic relations; and seven remained neutral during the whole conflict. Numbered among those seven were three of the greatest powers in Latin-America — Mexico, Argentina, and Chile.



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CORDELL HULL

Unaffected on the one hand by the physical ravages of war, the Latin-American republics were profoundly influenced by the current international idealism. Ten of these republics became charter members of the League of Nations. They, along with others who joined later, considered the League an instrument whereby they might avoid the repetition of pre-war intervention by the Great Powers in their affairs. The League offered them a forum before which they could call any of the Great Powers to account for alleged violation of Latin-American rights. By a combined Latin-American bloc dedicated to the preservation of kin-

dred interests, these states hoped to exert a greater influence on world affairs than would be possible if each state acted individually. And then there was the United States, the "Great Colossus of the North," to consider. By joining the League of Nations, perhaps they could effectively checkmate the United States which, by its interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, had become the guardian of Latin-America's conscience and purse.

But the actual participation of the Latin American states in the League of Nations yielded little more than personal glory for a few able diplomats and lawyers. Two Latin-American representatives became president of the League Assembly, three became president of the League Council, and two became members of the World Court.

In the field of pacific settlement of Latin-American disputes, the record of the League of Nations was one of monotonous failure. In 1920, the League was called upon by Peru and Bolivia to settle the Tacna-Arica dispute. When a third Latin-American republic protested, the League decided this was a private matter and not within its competence. In 1921, Panama and Costa Rica were on the verge of a war over a boundary dispute. But while the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, of which both were members, cabled for information, the American Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, intervened and the conflict was settled. In the undeclared war between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Chaco boundary, the League once again proved ineffective as an agency of pacific settlement.

### *MODIFICATION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE*

With the failure of the United States to enter the League of Nations, the Latin-American states became apprehensive of the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine which was incorporated into Article 21 of the League Covenant. Not only did Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Mexico ask for a redefinition of the Covenant from the Geneva forum; but also at successive Pan-American conferences, the question was persistently raised and persistently evaded.

The answer remained in doubt until the United States, in pursuit of its "good neighbor" policy, declared first at the Montevideo Congress of 1933, and at the Buenos Aires Conference of 1936, that the preservation of the Monroe Doctrine was to be shared in by all states, and not maintained by the United States alone. The attitude of the Latin-American states toward the League of Nations has cooled considerably while their attitude toward the United States has warmed as a result of the new "good neighbor" policy.

### *ECONOMIC DISTRESS AND DICTATORSHIPS*

Profound internal changes appeared in Latin America in the decade from 1919 to 1929. Prices and standards of living rose. Public utilities were built, educational facilities were increased, the arts were cultivated, industries were established, and progressive labor legislation was passed. Political habits became more stable. Wherever military disorders occurred, they were generally of short duration.

Then came the depression. In the years that followed, much of the progress made by the Latin-American states seemed to be wiped out. Foreign markets disappeared. In Cuba, for instance, exports were cut in half. Everywhere military authorities rose to challenge the civil government. Dictators bid for power. The standard of living of the masses was depressed. The rifle squad rather than the ballot box distinguished most of Latin-American politics. The triumph of the semi-fascist dictators is reflected in the fact that in 1937 possibly three Latin-American states, Colombia, Chile, and Mexico, can be described as republics. The strength of the dictators is further reflected in the hostility to liberalism shown by most of the Latin-American representatives at the League of Nations. When they refused to seat the Loyalist Spanish government on the Council of the League of Nations in 1937, they indirectly extended their hand to the fascist, General Franco.

### *CONFUSION IN CUBA*

The new attitude of the United States toward Latin America was illustrated by recent relations with Cuba. President Gerardo Machado on that island began his term of office under favorable

circumstances. When the depression broke the Cuban sugar market, the economic and political life of the island was shaken to its foundation. Machado attempted to keep his government intact by the use of violence. He succeeded in suppressing a revolution in 1931 and a second revolution in 1932. Civil disturbances continued, and the United States took notice of the situation. Instead of the marines it had formerly sent to preserve order, the Administration sent Sumner Welles to Cuba with an offer to mediate. On August 12, 1933, a general strike occurring simultaneously with a revolt in the army, forced Machado to flee the country.

Cabinet after cabinet was formed with the only constant in the political scene being represented by Colonel Fulgencio Batista. This man of the people began as a radical and ended as a conservative, but in passing through the gamut of politics, he dictated the choice of cabinets. With the elevation of the conservative Carlos Mendieta to the presidency of Cuba, the United States recognized the legitimacy of his office. Realizing that the mere recognition of political legitimacy of a person's office, without an attempt to improve the internal conditions of the country would make that office insecure, the United States by treaties with Cuba put an end to her right of intervention, and sought through reciprocal tariff arrangements to restore to Cuba her foreign markets. These reciprocal trade agreements the United States is now signing with other Latin-American countries.

### *TOWARD STABILITY IN MEXICO*

In the midst of all these upheavals in Latin America, Mexico alone appeared to be following a liberal road toward the solution of its problems. This country emerged from the World War with Carranza as its president. The revolutionary forces which swept him into office had also formed a constitution which sought in Article 27 to nationalize the subsoil of the Mexican Republic. The objective of this clause was to check the foreign ownership of its minerals, the main wealth of Mexico. American and British interests, who owned most of the mines of Mexico, protested against the Article, charging that it was confiscatory in nature.

So concerned was the United States with the interpretation



International News photo

## ÁLVARO OBREGÓN

Because American owners of valuable Mexican mineral concessions believed Article 27 of the Mexican constitution to be confiscatory, U. S. recognition of the Obregón regime was for a time withheld.



International News photo

## LÁZARO CÁRDENAS

Cárdenas, elected in 1934, worked aggressively to put through the Six-Year Plan of the National Revolutionary Party. This led to a break between Cárdenas and Calles in 1935.

of this article, that when Álvaro Obregón in 1920 was constitutionally elected president of Mexico, both Wilson and Harding withheld recognition of the legitimacy of his government. Finally in 1923, the Mexican Supreme Court rendered a decision holding that the article in question was not retroactive and hence it was not confiscatory. This meant that all foreign holdings acquired prior to the adoption of the Constitution would remain in private hands, but that no mineral or oil concessions could be acquired in the future. The decision of the Mexican Supreme Court removed the impediment from the recognition of the Obregón government. The working relation between Obregón and the American government thereafter was so close that when a revolt against his leadership broke out in the last year of his term of office, Obregón received arms from American arsenals to suppress the revolt.

In 1924 Plutarco Calles was elected president of Mexico in the first peaceful election in fifty years. Calles had been nominated

by the National Revolutionary party. So powerful had this party become that mere nomination was equivalent to election. In 1928, Obregón was elected to succeed Calles, but was assassinated in the first year of his term of office. This left Calles virtual dictator of the National Revolutionary party. He was able to choose his own presidents and they responded to his advice.

In June of 1933, in the last year of the presidency of Plutarco Elías, Calles announced through the National Revolutionary party a six-year plan for Mexico which, if enacted, would bring about reforms in Mexico without violating private interests. It was in essence a liberal program emphasizing better education, minimum wage laws, agrarian reforms and public works. The plan was approved by the National Revolutionary party in December of the same year and it fell to President Lázaro Cárdenas, elected in 1934, to put the plan into effect. In pursuit of this policy, Cárdenas took steps to secure minimum wage laws, to fix the price of certain commodities, to forbid child labor, and to protect women in industry. By the constitutional amendment of October, 1934, his government established the basis of a new educational system by forbidding church-sponsored education.

In 1935, there came a split between Cárdenas and Calles. The latter, accustomed to having his presidents listen to his advice, never expected Cárdenas to push through the six-year plan. Charging the president was confiscating property, Calles set himself up in opposition to the existing government. The radical section of the labor movement, the peons, and the army supported Cárdenas in the struggle, and Calles was forced to leave the country.

The development of the socialistic program brought the Cárdenas regime into open conflict not only with the large landowners but with the Catholic Church. In the latter case, the issue was chiefly that of the control of the education of Mexican children. Repercussions of the Cárdenas policy were heard in the halls of the United States Congress when 242 members of the House of Representatives urged President Roosevelt to intervene in Mexico. but he refused to do so.

*Dictatorship in Brazil*

Brazil's post-war history was sufficiently stormy to maintain the Latin-American tradition of instability. Failure of the valorization scheme to effect a permanent solution of coffee overproduction left Brazil with a serious economic problem. However, the development of many formerly sparsely-inhabited regions, and the extension of cotton culture, were factors which contributed to Brazil's agricultural stability.

The strong man of Brazil after 1930 was Getulio Vargas. This energetic leader was compelled to face a number of serious political problems, including disastrous civil war. Although Vargas succeeded in consolidating his power, communistic propaganda grew in disturbing proportions. Political revolts and unrest in Brazil's twenty states created a precarious condition which was not conducive to economic development. On November 10, 1937, President Vargas assumed dictatorial powers in an attempt to make his country a corporate state, somewhat similar to the totalitarian states of Europe. Vargas announced that payments on the principal and interest of foreign indebtedness would cease temporarily while the government put its finances in order. The new constitution provided for a consultative council on national economy composed of representatives from workers' and employers' organizations. Legislative power was to be exercised by a chamber whose membership was proportioned to the population. A federal council of thirty members was to act in an advisory capacity. These sweeping changes apparently had the approval of the various states and the support of the army.

Latin America was accustomed to dictatorships. Political inexperience, poor transportation and communication, and the composition of the electorate combined to prevent full operation of democratic or republican principles. Observers disagreed as to whether Brazil's new regime marked a departure from former dictatorial governments and leaned toward fascism. The steps taken by President Vargas differed little from those followed by Gomez in Venezuela, Diaz in Mexico, and other leaders.



## ARGENTINA

Argentina persisted in its policy of neutrality after the United States entered the World War in 1917. The government was then under the guidance of a radical *caudillo*, Dr. Hipólito Irigoyen. Argentine industry prospered under the stimulus of war demands, and although there was a brief period of depression when hostilities ceased, economic progress was resumed under the presidency of Alvear from 1922 to 1926. Irigoyen's party enacted a social program which was far advanced, but these promising measures were not carried out as thoroughly as their proponents expected.

Irigoyen was re-elected in 1928, but his support had dwindled. The continuance of economic distress was partly responsible for the revolution of 1930 which placed José Francisco Uriburu in power for a brief time. Augustín P. Justo succeeded to the presidency in 1931 after a military coup, and for a time Argentina was unstable politically.

Argentina continued to be a prominent contender for the economic and political leadership of South America. Its statesmen were especially jealous of the economic imperialism of the United States, although British, German, French, and Italian influences were prominent. Brazil, traditionally suspicious of Argentina, was the only Latin-American nation capable of challenging Argentine leadership. The attitude of Argentina toward the United States was further shown at the Buenos Aires Conference in 1937, when the northern republic's program was modified in accordance with Argentine desires.

## TURMOIL IN PERU AND CHILE

Peruvian history since the World War continued its troubled course. Augusto B. Leguia was president from 1908 to 1930, with exception of the four-year term of José Pardo from 1915 to 1919. The Tacna-Arica dispute, long a dangerous contention, was settled in 1929 with a division of the two provinces between Peru and Chile. Leguia's dubious financial arrangements contributed to his downfall in 1930, and Luis M. Sanchez Cerro headed the government until his assassination in 1933. The ad-

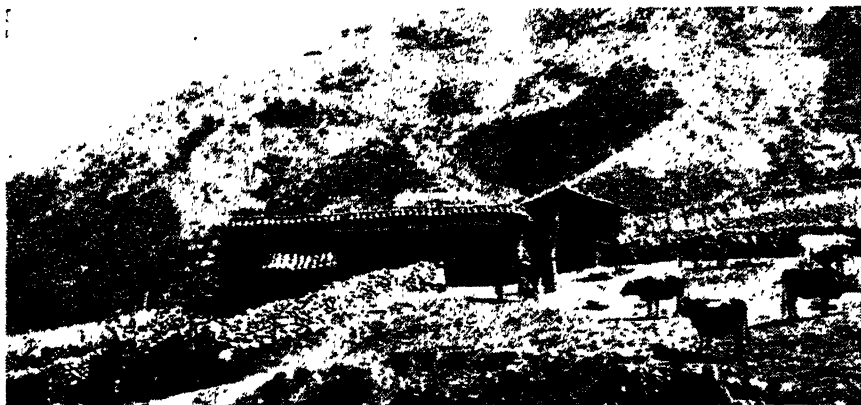
ministration of Oscar Benavides, who succeeded Cerro, opened with a serious dispute over the Leticia corridor which was finally settled amicably.

The presidency of Juan Luis Sanfuentes in Chile, which began in 1915, promised to carry forward the program of the "Democratic Republic." Sanfuentes promoted public works, encouraged a merchant marine, reorganized public administration, and improved conditions in the army and navy. These beneficial measures were interrupted by the World War and the resulting loss of Chilean markets in Europe, especially for its nitrates. Chile, with a large German population, favored the Central Powers, but sentiment veered toward the Allies by 1917. This change in attitude was attended by an increased trade with Europe. A prominent figure, both in Chile and abroad, was the historian Agustín Edwards, who became president of the League Assembly in 1922.

Arturo Alessandri was elected president in 1920. Internal unrest prevented the completion of his reform program, and in 1925 Colonel Ibáñez forced Alessandri from office. An election in the same year seated Emiliano Figueroa, who had the honor of instituting fiscal reforms recommended by the Kemmerer Commission. Ibáñez again seized power in 1926 and remained in control until a revolution in 1931 caused him to flee. Alessandri was recalled to the presidency in December, 1932, and since then Chile has been making more or less sporadic progress toward adjustment of its economic difficulties. A lasting prosperity in Chile will not be achieved until an economic order, less dependent on the decadent nitrate industry, shall have been established.

### *DISPUTE OVER THE CHACO*

The most serious of all the international complications in Latin America was the Chaco controversy between Bolivia and Paraguay. This dispute originated with the uncertain boundaries between the old Audiencia and Charcas and Paraguay. Bolivia succeeded to the claims of Charcas to the Paraguay River. Paraguay, however, had equally good claims to a large area of the Chaco west of the river. The difficulties resulted in an undeclared war



Paul's Photos, Chicago

#### A VENEZUELAN FARM IN THE RUGGED HILL COUNTRY

which began in December, 1928. The United States, Argentina, and the League of Nations made attempts to mediate, but the war dragged on until the exhausted nations agreed to a truce. Paraguay probably had the better of the conflict, but the dispute was by no means ended.

Political changes in both Bolivia and Paraguay were dependent upon the Chaco dispute. Each country experienced a series of minor revolutions during the early 1930's.

### THE AGE OF GÓMEZ IN VENEZUELA

Venezuelan history after 1908 was the story of a remarkable dictatorship under Juan Vicente Gómez. Although this *caudillo* died in 1935, at an advanced age, he impressed his personality upon Venezuelan politics for nearly thirty years. His dictatorship had many cruel features, such as arbitrary imprisonment, exile, and confiscation of property. Gómez allowed two other presidents to serve during his dictatorship, but they were never deceived as to who was the actual ruler.

Gómez did bring more than just a vestige of economic prosperity to his country. Foreign nations were allowed concessions to develop Venezuela's important oil resources. The national debt was reduced significantly, and political disturbances were held at a minimum. In common with other Latin-American republics, Venezuela struggled with serious social, political, and economic problems.

# TURMOIL IN AFRICA AND THE FAR EAST

## AFRICA

IN AFRICA, the fate of the blacks and the Arabs since the war has run along different paths. While the black peoples, as represented by the Ethiopians, had none of the national cohesiveness which makes for effective resistance to the impact of Western arms, the Arabs in the northern strip of Africa have had varied success in shaking off the burdens to which they had been subjected by the imperialist nations. These Arab peoples, along with their kinsmen in Asia proper, emerged from the World War to find their dreams of a greater Arab state frustrated. Sporadic disturbances demonstrated their reaction to disillusionment. One of the most successful of these Arab uprisings occurred under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim who led his Riffian warriors in Spanish Morocco and so effectively defeated the Spanish that by 1923, Spanish control was limited to the coast line. From his success in Spanish Morocco, Abd-el-Krim turned to French Morocco and repeated his successes there. It required the combined forces of Spain and France under Marshal Pétain finally to force Krim to lay down his arms in 1926.

Great Britain made a wise move in 1922 by granting a measure of independence to Egypt. "Independence" concealed the fact that for all practical purposes Egypt still remained a British protectorate, with British control over international affairs and foreign investments within the country. The continued pres-



Underwood & Underwood photo

ABD-EL-KRIM, Great Moorish Chief

ence of Great Britain as the guest who called to stay a weekend but remained for almost a half century, proved a source of constant annoyance to the Egyptian nationalists.

The rise of Italian power in the Mediterranean caused the people subject to Great Britain to hope that Italy would be an instrument for the overthrow of British rule. Great Britain felt obliged to make greater concessions in Egypt in order to check the Italian threat. Thus in August, 1936, a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed providing for the termination of the British military occupation of Egypt, the exchange of ambassadors between Great Britain and Egypt, and the latter's admission into the League of Nations. England was to maintain a small armed force temporarily in the canal area, and both England and Egypt were to regard each other as allies in an offensive-defensive alliance in case of war.

### *JAPANESE MILITARISM AFTER THE WORLD WAR*

The ability of Japan to carve out an empire for herself in the two decades of post-war history can be understood in terms of its internal politics. The Japanese military and naval imperialists were to play the leading rôle in empire building. Japan had emerged from the war with a full grown military machine. She had successfully imposed on her feudal society the techniques of western industry without losing one of the basic concepts of her feudalism—an intense patriotism and deification of the emperor. Two parties have controlled Japan. One is the Minseito party, representing the industrialists. The other is the Seiyuki party, representing the feudal land barons and army leaders. Wherever conflicts have occurred within Japan, the parties to the conflict lined up not as conservatives but rather as civil or military authorities. The army has repeatedly challenged the authority of the civil government since 1929, and by acts of terrorism and propaganda often has been able to intimidate the civil authorities.

What were the internal needs of Japan which enabled the army to enter on its program of conquest? The Japanese have ventured the answer in the single phrase: population pressure.

them the Yangtze River Valley and the city of Shanghai, it caused a disagreement between Borodin and Chiang. Chiang had been willing to use Russian aid for the purpose of gaining control of China, while Borodin had been willing to use Chiang for the purpose of making China Communist. Now, with success at hand, they had little more use for each other. In the break that followed, Chiang called to his side all the militarist and anti-communist forces. And despite the denunciation of his activities by Sun Yat-sen's widow, to whom he was related by marriage, Chiang proceeded to purge Shanghai and Canton of both Russian and Chinese Communists. Borodin returned to Russia, and in the face of new disorders, Chiang also retired for a year. He returned in 1928 and set up a personal dictatorship in Nanking which he had wrested from the control of Chinese Communists.

### *JAPANESE CONQUEST OF MANCHURIA*

Through the co-operation of several Chinese war lords, all of China seemed to come under a semblance of unity centering in the dictatorship of Chiang. The Kuomintang, now controlled by Chiang, soon set itself up as the single political party of China. But rival factions within the single legalized party, and the impossibility of bringing independent war lords and provincial governors under complete control, led to a series of civil disturbances which represented a constant threat to Chiang's life as well as to the life of his Nanking government. So concerned had Chiang become with preserving himself in power, that when Japan in 1932 began to dismember Manchuria from the body of China, Chiang remained passive. While the threat to China from Russian sources has been mainly an ideological threat, the Japanese threat imperils the physical existence of China.

The close of the World War found Japanese forces occupying all of Manchuria, eastern Siberia, Shantung, and Northern Sakhalin. But the pressure of the victorious Red Russian army and of the Western powers forced her to disgorge the part of China she had swallowed. By signing the Nine Power Treaty in 1922,



JAPAN IN ASIA—1930

Japan committed herself to respect the territorial integrity and administrative entity of China, as well as the "Open Door" policy. In the years following the signing of this pact, Japan felt her economic position in Manchuria to be insecure without the support of political control over the area. Boycotts of Japanese goods under the supervision of the Kuomintang had seriously crippled Japanese trade. The building by the Chinese of a railway system to compete with the Japanese-controlled South Manchurian railway, threatened to ruin the value of the latter system. To safeguard the billions of dollars invested in the area, Japan decided to initiate a program calculated to give her political control.

The principal figure in Manchuria opposing Japan was Chang Tso-lin, who was conveniently disposed of by the bombing of his train in 1928. Chang Tso-lin's son, Chang Hsueh-liang, destined to play a leading role in the sensational kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek, was no more willing than his father to respond to the puppet strings pulled by Japan. Chang Hsueh-liang, though for most purposes an independent war lord, swore allegiance to the central



JAPAN IN ASIA—EARLY 1938

government at Nanking, joined the Kuomintang, and vigorously supported the anti-Japanese boycott.

These anti-foreign policies convinced the Japanese that it was necessary to oust Chang by force of arms and to end for all time the Nanking control over Manchuria. With this objective in mind, the "incidents" which always seem to happen conveniently for a nation bent on war, culminated in the Japanese charge that the soldiers of Chang had exploded a bomb on the South Manchurian railway near Mukden as part of the anti-Japanese campaign. Without waiting for an inquiry into the incident by any of the parties to which Japan had committed herself by treaties to respect the territorial integrity of China, the Japanese at once attacked Mukden on September 18, 1931. From that day until January 2, 1932, when Chinchow was occupied, the Japanese extended their occupation of Chinese territory to the north and south until all Chinese power in Manchuria was at an end. Utilizing the traditional separatist attitude of the Manchurians as the pretext for forming a separate puppet state, the Japanese on March 9, 1932,



installed the Manchu boy emperor, Henry Pu Yi as head of the new state of Manchukuo. By this act, the Japanese sought to turn the clock back to 1911 when another Manchu boy emperor named Henry Pu Yi was overthrown by the revolution of Sun Yat-sen.

### ATTACK ON SHANGHAI—1932

With the establishment of the new state, the Japanese turned their attention toward Shanghai. Some of the Japanese believed that the boycott carried on by the Kuomintang could be broken by Japanese control of Shanghai. If Shanghai were under Japanese occupation, then the Japanese could use the *fait accompli* as a fulcrum on which to balance its bargainings with the Nanking government. Again, the usual "incidents" occurred which Japan used as a pretext for opening hostilities in the vicinity of Shanghai.

Hitherto the brunt of all resistance to Japanese aggressions was borne by local war lords. Chiang Kai-shek, representing the national government, had remained stoically aloof to the conquest of Manchuria. But public opinion, echoing the cry that the only way Chiang could hope to unify China was by effective national resistance to Japan, forced him to assist General Tsai Ting-kai, commander of the Nineteenth Route Army, who was already resisting the Japanese invasion of the Chapei region north of Shanghai. Chiang Kai-shek's assistance proved insufficient and the Chinese were forced to retreat from the Chapei, Kiangwan, and Woosung forts at the mouth of the Yangtse River. By March 3, Chinese resistance came to an end in this area, and on May 5, China and Japan, in co-operation with the League of Nations and other powers, signed a truce providing for the Japanese evacuation of the Shanghai area.

### JAPANESE AGGRESSION, 1936-1937

The truce did not end Japanese aggression. One by one other areas of China fell under Japanese control. In 1936 Japan pressed into inner Mongolia with the objective of establishing another regime similar to that established in Manchukuo. While pressing forward on the military front, Japan attempted on the diplomatic front to force Chiang Kai-shek to suppress all anti-Japanese agi-

tation, to grant Japan economic concessions, and to accept Japanese army aid in suppressing the Chinese Communists, who number an estimated 50,000,000 people.

Faced by these demands from a foreign source, Chiang was also confronted with a threat to his existence from within the country. In June of 1936, the southern war lords rebelled against the Nanking government and urged open war on Japan. The rebellion was crushed by both military force and bribery. But a few months later General Chang Hsueh-laing who had been driven from Manchuria by the Japanese, kidnaped Chiang Kai-shek. In the elaborate face-saving device that followed Chiang's release, the latter agreed to cease his war against the Chinese Communists, to co-operate with them in resisting Japan, and to work toward a more liberal program in domestic government. While this program was being worked out, and partly because of it, Japan in the late summer of 1937 began new hostilities designed to crush completely the power of the Nanking Government of Chiang Kai-shek. Japanese military, naval, and air forces converged on Shanghai which was defended valiantly by the Chinese. Shanghai fell to the invaders in November, 1937, and the Japanese began a "mopping up" movement, aiming to conquer all China within two years. The poorly armed Chinese rapidly fell back into the interior of their country. During the advance of the Japanese army up the Yangtze River, a United States gunboat, the *Panay*, was bombed by airplanes and sunk. The event assumed great importance when President Roosevelt of the United States personally addressed a note to the Japanese Emperor. It was the first time in all history that the Emperor had been held responsible for an act of a Japanese subject. The incident was amicably settled.

The Chinese resistance stiffened in early 1938. The defending air forces even bombed the island of Formosa as a retaliatory measure. While the Chinese valor and patriotism was commendable, it was not equal to the superior equipment and training of the Japanese soldiery who kept pressing them back at all points.







